
The Verbal System of Yemsa (Omotic language of Ethiopia)

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Contents

Acknowledgements	9
Abbreviations	11
1. Introduction	13
1.1. Cultural and historical background	13
1.1.1. Culture	16
1.1.2. History	17
1.2. The Yemsa language	19
1.2.1. Previous research	19
1.2.2. Classification	20
1.2.3. Sociolinguistic situation	21
1.2.4. General characteristics and peculiarities of Yemsa	24
1.3. The present work	36
1.3.1. Data	36
1.3.2. Orthography	37
1.3.3. Glossing style	38
2. Phonology	39
2.1. Consonants	39
2.1.1. Plosives	39
2.1.2. Glottalised consonants	41
2.1.3. Fricatives	41
2.1.4. Nasals	42
2.1.5. Liquids	42
2.1.6. Approximants	43
2.2. Vowels	44
2.3. Syllable structure	45
2.3.1. Restrictions	45
2.4. Morphophonemics	47
2.4.1. Assimilation	47
2.4.2. Dissimilation	51
2.4.3. Deletion	51
2.4.4. Epenthesis	51

Contents

2.4.5.	Metathesis	52
2.5.	Stress	53
2.6.	Tone	53
2.6.1.	Minimal pairs	54
2.6.2.	Tone patterns	56
2.6.3.	Tonal processes	57
3.	The noun phrase	73
3.1.	Nouns, adjectives and gender marking	73
3.1.1.	Gender morphology	73
3.1.2.	Adjectives in use	76
3.2.	Noun suffixes	77
3.2.1.	Plural suffixes	77
3.2.2.	Politeness suffix	79
3.2.3.	Possessive person suffixes	80
3.3.	Case	81
3.3.1.	Nominative and accusative	83
3.3.2.	Genitive	84
3.3.3.	Spatial cases	85
3.3.4.	Comitative	93
3.3.5.	Coordinative	93
3.3.6.	Similative	94
3.4.	Pronouns	95
3.4.1.	Personal pronouns	95
3.4.2.	Possessive pronouns	96
3.5.	Demonstratives	97
3.6.	Numerals	99
3.7.	Definiteness	100
3.7.1.	Definite suffix	100
3.7.2.	Uses of the definite suffix	101
3.7.3.	Constructions that need the definite marker	103
3.7.4.	The definite marker as a nominaliser	104
3.7.5.	Referents that are not definite-marked	105
4.	Verbal morphology	109
4.1.	Morphological verb classes and stem vowel	109
4.2.	Verbal noun formation	110
4.3.	Irregular verbs	111
4.4.	Valency-changing derivations	112
4.4.1.	Passive -t	113
4.4.2.	Causative -s	113
4.4.3.	Passive and causative morphemes combined	114

4.4.4. Deponent verbs	116
4.4.5. Unproductive causative morphemes	117
4.5. The basic mood distinction: realis and irrealis stems	119
4.6. Number marking	122
4.7. Mood and aspect marking	124
4.8. Person and gender marking	127
4.8.1. Person marking	127
4.8.2. Gender marking	136
4.9. Nominalisation of main verb forms	138
4.10. Markers of dependent verb forms	141
4.11. Verbal negation	143
4.11.1. Negation through a negative particle and characteristic person suffixes	143
4.11.2. Negation through a negative suffix	144
4.11.3. Negation through a periphrastic construction	145
4.11.4. Negation through a different verb form with a negative suffix . .	145
4.12. Interrogative verb forms	146
4.13. Overview	147
5. Valency-changing derivations	149
5.1. Syntax and semantics of the passive	149
5.1.1. Syntactic effects	149
5.1.2. Middle semantics	151
5.2. Syntax and semantics of the causative	155
5.2.1. Syntactic effects	155
6. Mood and negation	157
6.1. Mood	157
6.1.1. Future	157
6.1.2. Jussive/imperative	161
6.1.3. Optative	163
6.1.4. Counterfactual obligative	164
6.1.5. Interrogative future	165
6.2. Negation	166
6.2.1. Negative simple	166
6.2.2. Negative imperfective	167
6.2.3. Negative progressive	168
6.2.4. Negative nominalised simple	168
6.2.5. Negative future	169
6.2.6. Prohibitive	170
6.2.7. Negative counterfactual obligative	172
6.2.8. Negative dependent verb forms	172

Contents

6.2.9.	Correspondence between affirmative and negative verb forms . .	173
7.	Aspect	175
7.1.	Johanson's aspect theory	175
7.1.1.	Internal phase structure (IPS)	176
7.1.2.	Viewpoint aspect	177
7.1.3.	Degrees of focality	178
7.2.	Aspect semantics in main verbs	179
7.2.1.	Imperfective	179
7.2.2.	Simple	181
7.2.3.	Nominalised simple	183
7.2.4.	Progressive	184
7.2.5.	Other aspect-marked main verb forms	186
7.3.	Interaction of aspect and internal phase structure	186
7.3.1.	Dynamic (DYN)	187
7.3.2.	Finitransformative momentaneous (MOM)	188
7.3.3.	Finitransformative non-momentaneous (FINTR)	189
7.3.4.	Initiotransformative (INITR)	190
7.3.5.	A verb with two cursus phases: <i>ârū</i> 'learn/know'	192
7.3.6.	Overview	193
7.4.	Aspect semantics in dependent verb forms	194
7.4.1.	Adnominal	196
7.4.2.	Similative and complement forms	196
7.4.3.	Different subject converb	197
7.4.4.	Manner and simultaneous converb	198
7.4.5.	General quasi-converb	199
7.4.6.	Temporal 1	199
7.4.7.	Purposive and concessive	200
7.4.8.	Sequential converb, iterative converb, conditional	200
7.4.9.	Overview	201
8.	Dependent verb forms	203
8.1.	Adnominal verb forms	204
8.1.1.	Realis adnominal (simple, imperfective, progressive)	204
8.1.2.	Irrealis adnominal (future and negative)	205
8.2.	General converb	206
8.3.	Different subject converb	209
8.4.	Sequential converb	211
8.5.	Manner and simultaneous converb	214
8.6.	Iterative converb	215
8.7.	Negative converb	216
8.8.	Isolated phenomena in clause chaining	219

8.9. General quasi-converb	220
8.10. Temporal 1	221
8.11. Temporal 2	223
8.12. Conditional	224
8.13. Negative conditional	226
8.14. Complement form	226
8.15. Similative	227
8.16. Purposive	228
8.17. Long verbal noun	229
8.18. Concessive	230
8.19. Negative purposive	230
8.20. Overview	231
8.21. Definition of converb	235
8.21.1. Quasi-converbs	237
8.21.2. Syntactic criteria in Yemsa	237
8.21.3. Criterion of morphological finiteness in Yemsa	241
9. Summary and final remarks	245
A. Texts	257
A.1. Izgin majanawa isa eetona – Nine hyenas and one lion	257
A.2. Emsekani kani tocho – The story of Emseka's life	259
A.3. Walattuno	261
A.4. Keeni keer'a – House building	262
A.5. Ta ep'ne girune – My wedding	263
A.6. Ibe boza ekkatu sinfa – About slaves in former times	265
A.7. A Blessing	273
B. Verbal paradigms	277
B.1. Main verb forms, realis	277
B.2. Main verb forms, irrealis	282
B.3. Dependent verb forms, realis	286
B.4. Dependent verb forms, irrealis	296
C. Paradigms of irregular verbs	299
C.1. Main verb forms, realis	300
C.2. Main verb forms, irrealis	307
C.3. Dependent verb forms, realis	313
C.4. Dependent verb forms, irrealis	329
D. Vocabulary	333

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Abbreviations

A	actor	FUT Q, FUT _Q	interrogative future
ABL	ablative	GEN	genitive
ACC	accusative	GEND	gender
AD	adessive	H	high tone
adj	adjective	IDEO, ideo	ideophone
ADNOM, ADN	adnominal	IF	illocutionary force
ADR	address suffix	IMP	imperative
ADV, adv	adverb	IN	inessive
ADVS	adversative	indef.	indefinite
AMH	Amharic loan	indep.	independent
ATTR	attribute	INITR	initio-transformational
CAUS	causative	IPA	International Phonetic Association
cit.	citation form		
COBL	counterfactual obligative	int	interrogative
com.	common register	IPFV, i	imperfective
COMIT	comitative	IPS	internal phase structure
COMP	complement	IRR	irrealis
CONC	concessive	IT	iterative converb
COND	conditional	itr.	intransitive
conj	conjunction	JUSS	jussive
COORD	coordinative	L	low tone
COP	copula	LOC	locative
CV	general converb	m, masc.	masculine*
DEF, def.	definite	M	masculine
DEM	demonstrative	MAN	manner converb
DEP, dep.	dependent	MOD	modality
DS	different subject; different subject converb	MOM	momentaneous
		MV	main verb
DYN	dynamic	n	noun
END	endearment	NEG, neg.	negation
f, fem.	feminine	NML, n	nominalisation
F	feminine*	NUMB	number
FINTR	fini-transformational	OBJ	object
FOC	focus	OPT	optative
FUT	future	ORD	ordinal number

ORO	Oromo loan	TEMP, temp.	temporal
PART, part	particle	TOP	topic
PASS	passive	tr.	transitive
PER	perlative	TRN	tonal root node
PERS, pers.	person	v	verb
PL, pl., p	plural	var.	variant
POL, pol.	polite register	VN	verbal noun
POSS	possessive	1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person
postp	postposition		
PROG	progressive		
PROH	prohibitive		
pron	pronoun		
PS	person-sensitiveness		
PURP	purposive		
Q, q	question		
QCV	general quasi-converb		
quant	quantifier		
REAL	realis		
REC	reciprocal		
reg.	register		
REL	relative		
roy.	royal register		
RTT	Register Tier Theory		
S	single argument		
sb.	somebody		
SEQ	sequential		
sg., s	singular		
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics		
SIM	simultaneous; simultaneous converb		
SIMIL	similative		
SIMP	simple		
SOV	subject - object - verb		
SR	switch-reference		
SS	same subject		
STAT	static		
sth.	something		
SUBJ	subject		
SUP	superessive		
SV	stem vowel		
SZ	Silvia Zaugg-Coretti		
TBU	tone-bearing unit		

* M and F with small capitals are used in verb forms where all persons pattern either with masculine or feminine gender, i.e. where gender assignment is highly grammaticalised.

1. Introduction

The Yemsa language is spoken by people who call themselves Yem (feminine: Yemma) and their country Yengar. The name refers to a tradition according to which parts of the Yem people were immigrants from Yemen (see below). Straube (1963:269) suggests that it is the term Yengar which served as a basis for the derogatory designations Janjero or even Zinjero (which means ‘baboon’ in Amharic) for both the language and the people. Some Yem people seem to prefer Yem also for the language, following some publications by Ethiopian scholars. However, since all Yem whom I met called their language Yemsa, I will continue to use the term, in line with Lamberti (1993), Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001) and Schaumberger (MSa and MSb).¹

The Yem live in South-western Ethiopia in a hilly area near the road from Addis Ababa to Jimma, between the Little Gibe river in the west and the Omo river in the east (see map in fig. 1.1). Historically, the rivers formed the borders of the Yem kingdom on three sides while in the South, the border was a valley south of the Toba mountains. Nowadays, however, the western and northern border is not the river but is located at a certain distance above the road from Addis Ababa to Jimma. The Yengar territory today forms the Yem Special Wereda, an administrative unit of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region. The administrative centre of the Wereda is Fofa.

The most important part of Yengar, containing nearly all villages and the mass of cultivated land, lies within the highland altitude zone between 1800 and 2300m above sea level. The highest elevation is Mount Bor (2900m); the Toba mountains in the South are around 2600m and the town of Fofa is at 2450m. The lowlands are found in the deep valley of the Omo and on its steep slope (and in the west and north outside the present territory towards the Little Gibe river).

1.1. Cultural and historical background

Before turning to the language, its classification, sociolinguistic situation and peculiarities, I include some cultural and historical background information. Though there are several accounts of Yem culture and history (be they obtained from Yem informants like Cecchi’s (1887) or summaries of others’ observations like Huntingford’s (1955)

¹ Aklilu Yilma (2002:3) notes: ‘Many Yem people, especially the educated ones, do not refer to their language as Yemsa. This is because the term referred to by Amharic speakers as *Yämsäña* implies ‘language of a female organ’. Thus they prefer to call the language Yem.’

1. Introduction

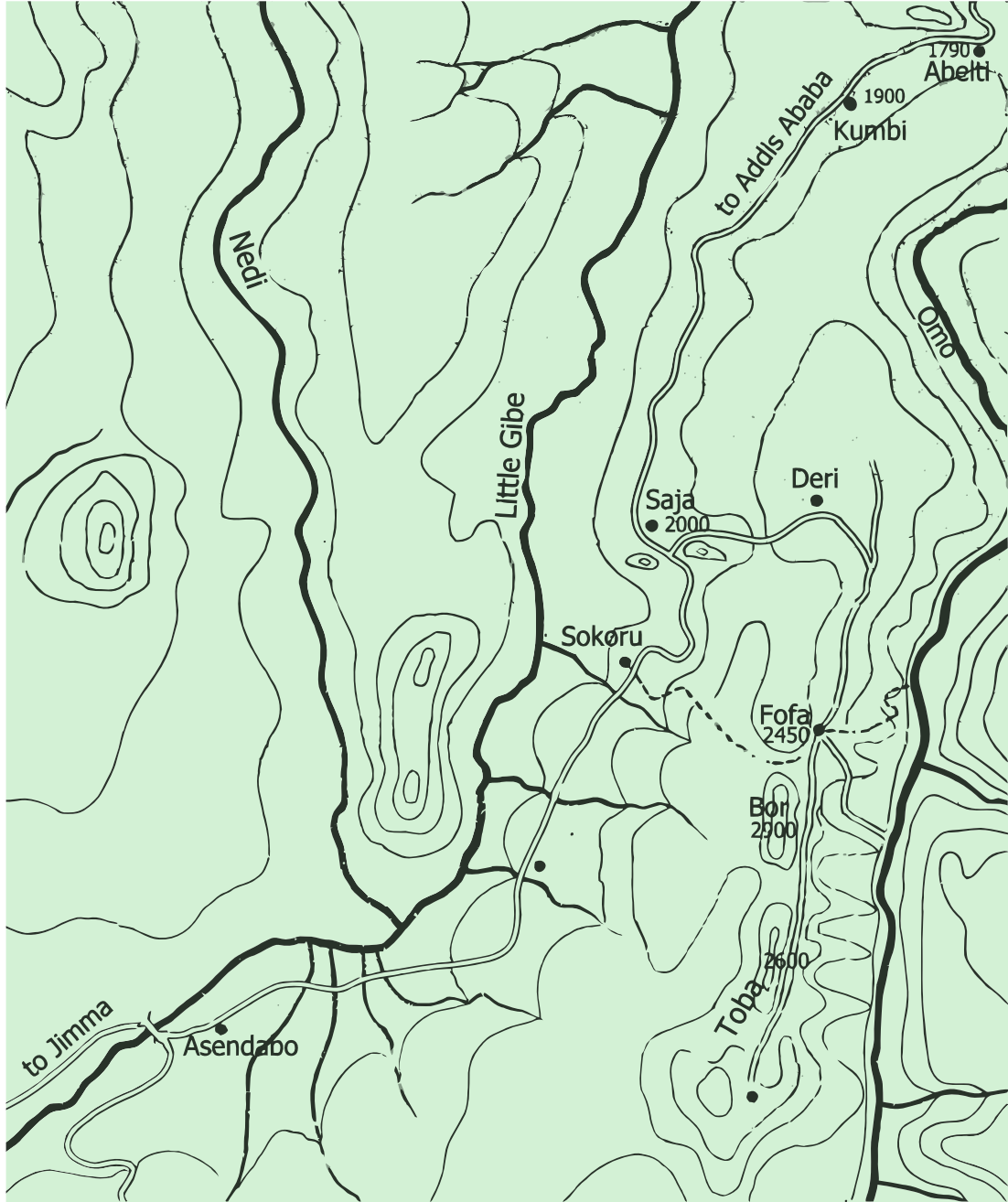


Figure 1.1.: Map of the Yem territory Yengar (based on Straube (1963))

1.1. Cultural and historical background

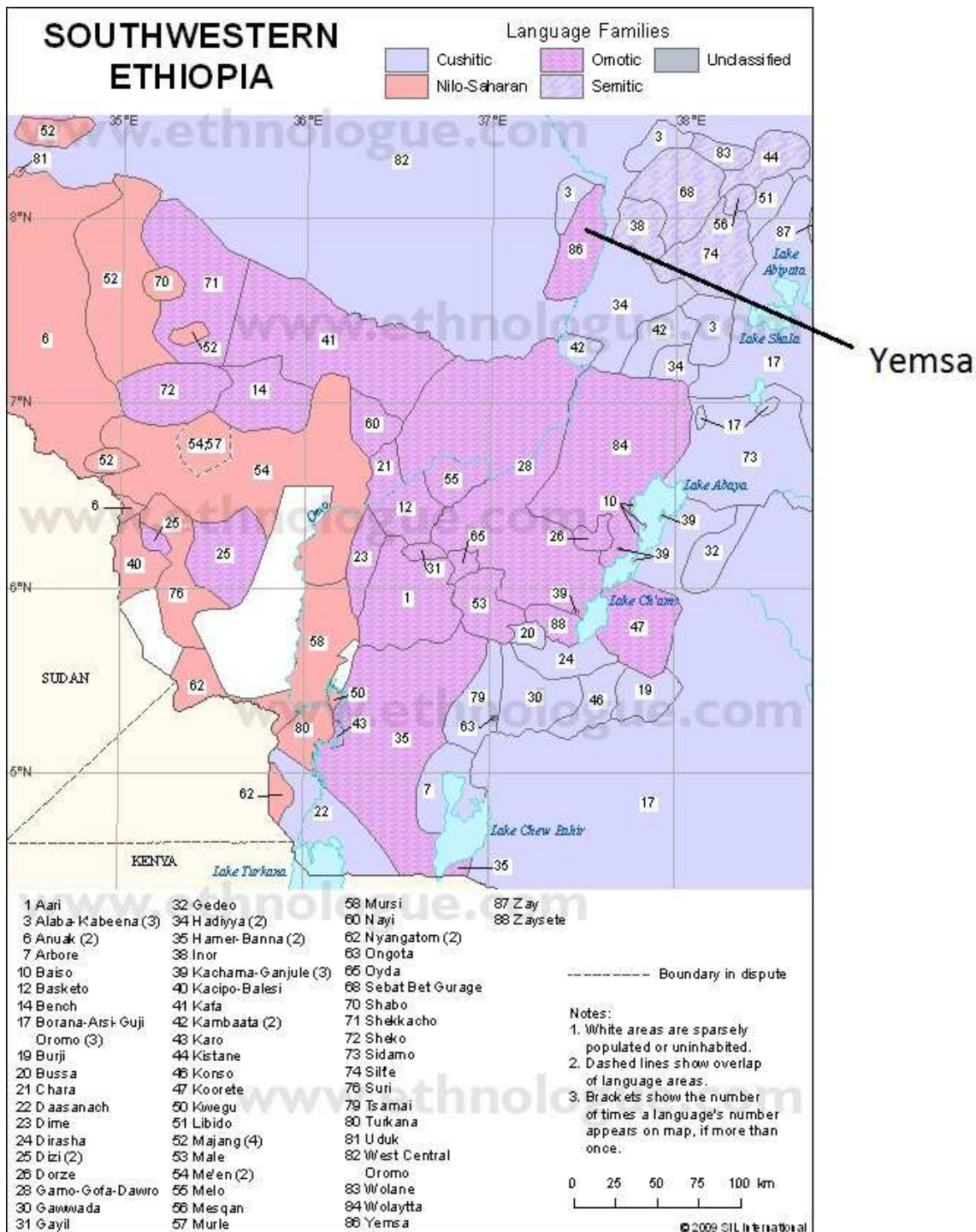


Figure 1.2.: Language Map of southwestern Ethiopia (Lewis (2009))

1. Introduction

study) this section is based overwhelmingly on Straube's (1963) comprehensive study originating in his own fieldwork carried out in the 1950s, but also on census reports and on personal observations.

1.1.1. Culture

The Yem are mainly farmers who cultivate ensete, barley and wheat as their staple food, accompanied by cabbage, peas, lentils, beans and other crops. It seems that ensete has a more important position in the diet today than some fifty years ago, when Straube visited Yengar and stated that the majority of the daily meals consisted of wheat or barley (Straube 1963:289). Nowadays the staple food is certainly ensete (in the form of *k'och'o* bread) or, in the towns, even the typical Amharic staple *injera*. Although every family has some cattle and sheep, cattle breeding is not practised on a large scale. The farmers live in scattered villages with their ensete plantations and cabbage gardens around the houses. A family can inhabit one or more houses. In former times, each wife had her own house, but polygamy is not practised any more.

At least seventy varieties of the ensete plant are known among the Yem, judging from Schaumberger (MSb) and the names given in Straube (1963:297), which indicates its central position. The processing of ensete involves complicated procedures. The root and the pith of the stem and the leafstalk are eaten. The tough fibres are used as strings and the leaves for wrapping. After six to eight years, the ensete plant is fully grown and can be harvested. It bears no edible fruit. Men and women have their fixed roles in chopping and preparing the different parts for further usage. Details cannot be given here, but most importantly, the chopped pith is wrapped in leaves and put into a hole where it ferments for at least two weeks, but it can also stay there for several months. In this way, there is always a stock from which the housewife takes the daily portion and bakes it as *k'och'o* bread (Yemsa: *ùsā*). There are different qualities of *k'och'o*, depending on the part of the plant and the procedure, and different ways of preparing it.

An important trait of Yem society is the strong subdivision into clans. They played a central role in the past, when the whole society was organised around clan membership. Most of the around 200 clans reported in Schaumberger (MSb) and Straube (1963) still exist today, but the most important division is between 'normal' and 'fuga' clans, who still live separated from each other. *Fuga* are the potters and tanners, and they are looked down upon by the other Yem, as it is the case among other peoples of Ethiopia. They were assigned to dishonourable jobs, e.g. in connection with funeral ceremonies, and excluded from the possession and cultivation of land. The blacksmiths are in a slightly better position. Besides the manual workers there are other clans with a low social position. They are the oldest clans according to the tradition and live mainly in the more remote Toba region in the south of Yengar. There are certain avoidance rules for the other clans in contact with them, and they are said to be masters of witchcraft.

1.1. *Cultural and historical background*

It is difficult to say how much the division into clans influences the reality of present society, but it is clear that in the minds of people, at least the aspect of social inequality connected to the presence of clans is still real, quite similar to the situation in the 1950s when Straube (1963) carried out his research.

As for religion, no details could be obtained from the available census documents for the Yem Special Wereda; in any case, the general picture is that (nominal) Orthodox Christians and partial followers of traditional religion are confronted with a growing and dynamic minority of Protestant Christians who are ready to radically break with religious traditions. In addition, especially in the north-western part of Yengar, Muslim communities are growing, mainly through immigration.

1.1.2. **History**

As Straube (1963:274f) puts it, geographical position and topography influenced the turbulent history of Yengar in the following ways: The relative vicinity to the advanced civilisation centre allowed for strong cultural influences from the North. At the same time, the mountainous topography, which gave the territory the character of a retreat, facilitated political independence over centuries as well as the retention of cultural peculiarities.

Straube (1963) thinks of the Yem society as a mixture of different cultures and peoples who subsequently entered the territory and who shaped culture and language to varying degrees. The earliest population was allegedly pre-Omoti and spoke a language which is unknown to the present. Today, their descendants are members of socially de-ranked clans (cf. above).

According to Straube (1963:275) the institution of a kingdom and the Yemsa language was brought in by a large group of Omoti settlers coming from the north, who took over control of the northern part of Yengar to the exclusion of the Toba region. Still, it seems that the inhabitants of Yengar, including those of Toba, gradually switched to the language of the occupiers. It is also Cerulli's (1938:98) opinion that 'the Yem represent a Cushitic people from the Sidama group [=Omoti, S.Z.] who superimposed themselves [...] on a culturally and linguistically non-Cushitic population'².

There were four dynasties of Omoti clans before four allegedly Yemenite clans entered Yengar (Straube 1963:276f), one of which was in power for a short time. Given their relatively small number and short time of rule the Yemenite clans had comparatively strong influence: They gave the country their name, and the subsequent Amharic dynasty always feared that they might regain control. Moreover, building techniques with stone—as shown in e.g. the carefully built mountain roads—were said to be introduced by the Yemenite clans.

² Original: '...i Giangerò rappresentano un popolo cuscitico della famiglia Sidama che si è sovrapposto, nella curva superiore del Ghibiè, ad una popolazione culturalmente e linguisticamente non cuscitica.' (Cerulli 1938:98)

1. Introduction

Probably before the turbulent times of Mohammed Granje's campaigns and the Oromo migrations in the sixteenth century, Amharic settlers, coming along with some Gurage clans, took the control of Yengar away from the Yemenite clan, and managed to annex the Toba region. They followed a policy of expansion so that the Yem king (of Amharic origin) became the leader of a confederation that included Hadiyya, Kambaata, Wolamo, Bosha, Kullo, Kaffa, Gamu and Gurage territories (Straube 1963:280).

However, the Amharic supremacy was stopped by the raids of Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, called *Grany*, and the Oromo migrations, which also had the effect that cultural contact between the Yem leaders and the Amhara ceased (Straube 1963:280f). Orthodox churches disappeared for a time, along with the Amharic language. In spite of continuous attacks and attempts to conquer Yengar, the Oromo kingdom of Jimma Abba Jifar was not successful until the end of the nineteenth century, when the Jimma leader, Abba Jifar II, submitted to the Amhara and took Yengar, in joint action with Ras Wolde Gyorgis' troops, in 1894. This was a fate parallel to that of the Kafa and Welayta states (cf. Bahru Zewde (2001:18; 64f)). The last Yem king, Gosasso, fled to Gurage. His son, Gerano, later escaped the Oromo and was baptised in Addis Ababa. The Amhara first assigned the administration of Yengar to Abba Jifar II, a ruthless ruler: important parts of the population were displaced to regions around Jimma; at the same time he took western and southern parts of the territory and re-populated them with Oromo who helped to spread Islam there. Yengar was looted, hence e.g. the deforestation which is said to be his responsibility. In 1906 or 1910 (Straube 1963:283), the Amhara took the control of Yengar away from Abba Jifar II and introduced orthodox Christianity again, promoted by the baptised son of the last king.

Although the institution of a kingdom, with all the practices and authorities involved, was abolished at the beginning of the last century, Straube (1963) reports that Gerano, the son of the last king, was still honoured some fifty years later (and, in fact, he was spoken of in a most respectful way in my presence as well). This indicates that the Yem king—whose title was *àmnò*—had assumed a god-like position and was more of a sacral figure than a political leader (Straube 1963:330f). The king lived a secluded life in his various residences scattered around the northern part of Yengar. Few people were allowed to see his face, and in daily life there were rigid ceremonial rules to be followed by himself and the court. He was identified with the sun and the moon. At religious ceremonies and feasts he assumed an important role and acted as the symbolic offerer of sacrifices.

Political and judiciary power lay in the hands of twelve ministers called *àstésēr*, although the king had a say, too. Their duties were fixed as well as their provenance from a certain clan or family. Some of them had to be eunuchs. The territorial government was assumed by twenty-one province leaders called *hèràshō* who were also in charge of guarding the borders. On important roads there were fortifications like trenches and guarded walls. In times of war the king withdrew to his most remote residence, guarded by his personal troops (Straube 1963:322ff).

Since the king was regarded as a kind of reincarnation of the Sky God, *hā'ō*, this god was not worshipped directly. There were, however, a number of sacrifice ceremonies in connection with yearly feasts, initiation, appointment of new leaders, etc., where cows were sacrificed. Human sacrifice was practised on specific occasions, e.g. when a new king was enthroned, and this human sacrifice was dedicated to the king.³ It was regarded as an honourable destiny to be chosen, both for the man to be sacrificed and for the killer. The person to be sacrificed needed to be without fault and was generally a younger or older man without a family; however, child sacrifices are reported as well. When a king died, a young girl had to be buried alive together with his corpse. Human sacrifice was suppressed by the Amhara when they conquered Yengar.

Every clan had its own place of worship where the clan leaders were buried. Hills and big trees were important places for worship. Some clans worshipped the crocodiles in the Omo river, to which they sacrificed calves. At present, although ancient religious practices are not obvious to the outsider, according to Schaumberger and Schaumberger (MS:15) ‘members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Muslims both use and perform traditional practices at all levels’, while Protestant Christians ‘do not engage in traditional practices, but are familiar with them’.

1.2. The Yemsa language

1.2.1. Previous research

Despite the interest in Yem culture starting as early as the seventeenth century with Fernandez’ account⁴, linguistic research on Yemsa began only much later. After a few word lists had appeared in otherwise culture-oriented publications (e.g. Cecchi (1887)), Cerulli (1938) was the first to publish a sketch of the grammar. In 1986 and 1990, Wedekind published articles on the politeness registers and on comparative phonology. In the nineties, there were substantial works on grammar such as Lamberti (1993) and Schaumberger (MSa), on phonology (Schaumberger and Schaumberger 2001) and lexicon (Schaumberger MSb). Aklilu Yilma (1992) published another article on the politeness register. A few MA and BA theses of students at the Addis Ababa University had topics related to Yemsa, cf. Fisseha (1984), Girma Mammo (1986), Kassie Shiferie (1987), Hirut Woldemariam (1993) and Derib Ado (2004), but unfortunately, I was unable to access them.

Although Cerulli’s (1938) study was certainly a milestone for the linguistic research on Yemsa, it also contains wrong conclusions because of the small corpus it is based on. To a lesser degree, this is also true for Lamberti (1993). His description is far

³ The accounts of the different scholars who studied Yem culture differ in this respect and vary between one and forty-seven human sacrifices per year, cf. Straube (1963:353ff).

⁴ Antonio Fernandez was a Portuguese Jesuit priest who travelled through Ethiopia in 1613, cf. Straube (1963:263).

1. Introduction

more comprehensive, but has serious shortcomings when it comes to tone representation. Schaumberger (MSa) is still more comprehensive in terms of morphemes and paradigms treated—and generally adequate in tone representation—but remains an unfinished sketch with gaps and inconsistencies. Of course I owe a lot of my understanding of Yemsa to these three publications, especially to the latter two and, in addition, to Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001). These works provided insights into phonology and morphology, and gave me a starting point for my research, and hints as to where I had to dig further. The lexicon (Schaumberger MSb), which was at my disposal in electronic form, was an invaluable source of knowledge.

1.2.2. Classification

Yemsa is an Omotic language, which is generally treated as belonging to the Afroasiatic phylum. For a long time, Omotic had been regarded as a part of Cushitic and was called West-Cushitic (fig. (1.3), e.g. Lamberti (1993), who has not given up the idea). Nowadays, the most common view is that it is an early offshoot of Afroasiatic (fig. (1.4), e.g. Ehret (2000:290ff, 1995:490)) or at least an independent branch of it, as already expressed in e.g. Bender et al. (1976:61f). When it comes to shared vocabulary, Omotic is more characteristic of Afroasiatic than when grammatical formatives (e.g. person markers) are taken into account (Hayward 1995:12ff). However, Theil (2006) questions the affiliation of Omotic to Afroasiatic altogether, saying that with the same amount of evidence one could claim it to be Indo-European. Because of the apparently enormous time-depth and the lack of early written material either hypothesis is difficult to prove.

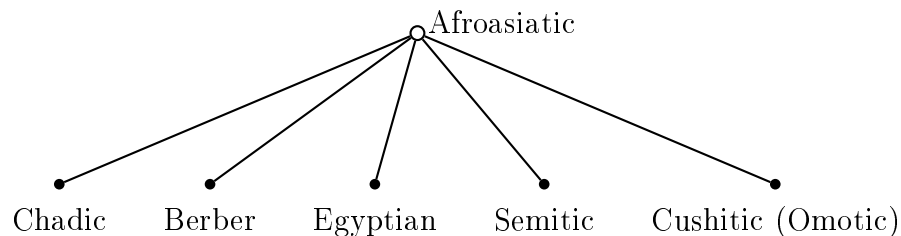


Figure 1.3.: Classification of Omotic as a part of Cushitic as shown in Hayward (1995:11)

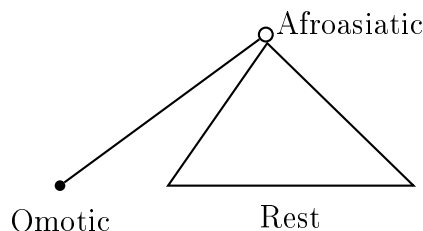


Figure 1.4.: Classification of Omotic as an early offshoot of Afroasiatic as shown in Hayward (1995:11)

Within the Omotic family, Yemsa is affiliated to North Omotic. All current suggestions situate it as an independent branch somewhere near the Ometo, the Kafa-Gonga and the Bench (Gimira) languages, as Fleming (1976) had already done, cf. e.g. Bender (1990, 1988). In spite of minor disagreement between the different authors this means essentially that Yemsa is not closely related to any other Omotic language. Lewis (2009) is a classification based on Bender (1988) shown in fig. (1.5).

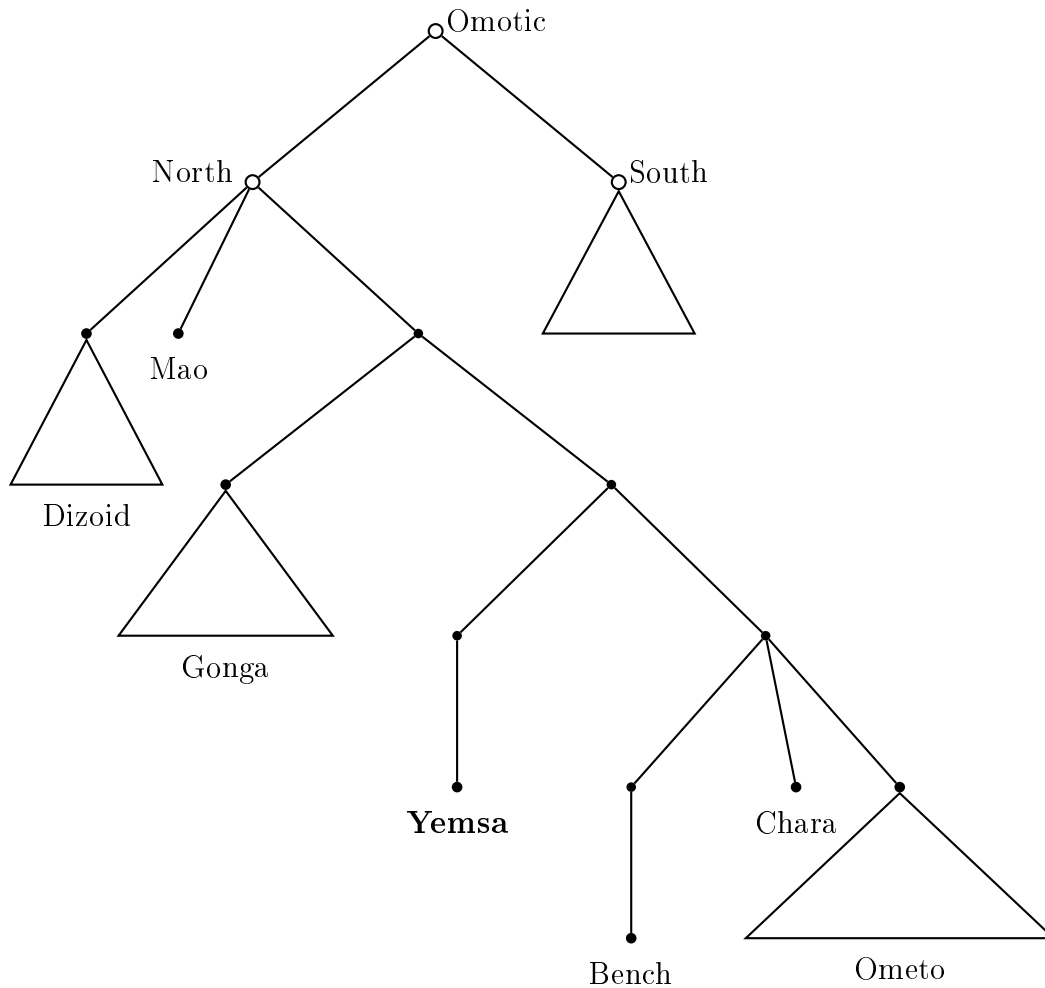


Figure 1.5.: Classification of Yemsa within Omotic according to Lewis (2009)

1.2.3. Sociolinguistic situation⁵

Yemsa is predominantly an oral language; written documents are in Amharic, as is teaching in school. Still, it is used widely and cannot be considered an immediately endangered language.

⁵ Parts of this section are adapted from Zaugg-Coretti (2009).

1. Introduction

The latest census (available only in summary⁶ to the present date) gives the number of 160,447 ethnic Yem: 84,607 in the Oromia Region, 74,906 in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' (SNNP) Region. The vast majority of the Yem population in the SNNP Region live in the Yem Special Wereda and are also Yemsa speakers, but outside this *wereda*⁷ and especially in the Oromia Region around Jimma, there are probably not too many Yemsa speakers among the Yem. Aklilu Yilma (2002:4) lists a number of Weredas with Yem villages outside the Yem Special Wereda (Deedoo, Sak'a, Tiro Afäta, Manna, Dimtu, Kishe, and Jimma itself), but is not precise about to what extent Yemsa is actually used there.

In the more detailed 1994 census⁸, 51,264 Yemsa speakers were reported for the Yem Wereda, and around 1,000 more for the whole SNNP Region. All in all, there were 81,977 speakers and an ethnic population of 166,252. Comparing the 1994 census data with the available data on ethnicity from the 2007 census we can assume that the number of Yem speakers has not changed significantly since 1994. We can thus estimate the number of Yemsa speakers at 80,000 people, the majority of them living in the Yem Special Wereda and a number of them in villages around Jimma, where many Yem were deported during Abba Jifar II's rule (cf. section 1.1.2 above).

Geographically, Yemsa is not adjacent to any other Omotic language.⁹ Its direct neighbours are the Cushitic languages Oromo, Hadiyya and K'abeena.

Yemsa does not show significant internal variation. The only dialect which is considered slightly different is that of Toba (Aklilu Yilma and Siebert 2002), though Yem from other places state that they can understand it without any difficulty. The exact nature of the dialectal difference remains open to further research.

Within Yengar, Yemsa is used as the primary language in the households, since inter-ethnic marriage is rare. Given the ethnic homogeneity, Yemsa is also dominant in public (Aklilu Yilma and Siebert 2002:14). Amharic is used for administrative purposes. The interviewees of the cited survey did not think of Yemsa as being endangered and expect that it will continue to be used as the primary means of communication in Yengar. However, they stated that people living in towns with a high number of Oromo or other languages speak Yemsa less and are less likely to pass it on to further generations (Aklilu Yilma and Siebert 2002:16).¹⁰

Oromo is used as a lingua franca on the borders of the Yem area, along with Amharic.

⁶ Cf. Population Census Commission, Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2008)

⁷ A *wereda* is an administrative unit in Ethiopia.

⁸ Cf. Central Statistical Authority. Office of Population and Housing Census Commission. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1996:172), Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency (CSA) (1996)

⁹ For a long time, the Bosha kingdom existed south of the Yem kingdom. It was conquered by the Oromo much earlier than the Yem kingdom, and the language, which was related to Kafa (Omotic), is now extinct.

¹⁰ This was my own experience as well: In Yengar villages, Yemsa was heard nearly uniquely. By contrast, two Yem families living in Sokoru, which is outside the Yem Special Wereda with elevated percentages of both Oromo and Yem, used Amharic with their children because they consider it more useful in the contact with neighbours and peers, and easier to learn.

1.2. The Yemsa language

Most Yemsa speakers are fluent in both Oromo and Amharic, though Oromo seems to play a more important role especially in the villages around Jimma. According to Aklilu Yilma (2002), Oromo seems to be used mainly in contact with neighbours who do not speak Yemsa, in the market, at work and in contact with the administration. Amharic, in its turn, is the main language of instruction in school and is used in contact with the administration, but also in the market. Amharic is highly valued because of its prestige and importance as a key professional qualification. The attitude towards Oromo is ambivalent: On the one hand, people acknowledge its usefulness in contact with neighbours and other people outside the Yem community. On the other hand, Oromo is disliked since the Yem were dominated by the Oromo in the past. Recently, tension has increased between Yem and Oromo at the western border of Yengar after the continuous immigration of Yem into towns on the main road outside the Yem Special Wereda (such as Saja, Sokoru or Dannaba). Both groups claim these towns as their own: politically, the area belongs to the Oromia Region, but historically, it belonged to Yengar before the conquest by Abba Jifar II (cf. section 1.1.2 above).

Contact with languages other than Oromo and Amharic have not taken on much importance, at least not presently. There is not much social exchange with the Hadiyya because they are separated from the Yem by the uninhabited valley of the Omo River, with only one major connection between the two regions. Contact with the K'abeena seems to be restricted to a single village, Abelti (Birru Rago, p.c.). Thus, contact with the Hadiyya and K'abeena languages is very restricted, though it may have been more important in the past. Certainly, contact with the Gurage people used to be frequent, since the traders who were allowed to visit Yengar at fixed times came from Gurage.

Written material in Yemsa exists to a certain degree. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has produced the Gospel of Luke and several booklets, which include easy-to-read literature for untrained readers, traditional stories and topics like health care. While this material is written in the official (Latin script) orthography¹¹, other writers use the Amharic *fidel* script in an informal way.¹² Despite the appreciation by many Yem of seeing their language in written form, the use of Yemsa writing is uncommon, as written material in general is rarely found in rural households¹³.

I am not currently aware of any radio broadcasts in Yemsa. Aklilu Yilma and Siebert (2002:16) report that at the time of their survey there used to be a Yemsa program on the radio twice a week.

¹¹ The official orthography was agreed upon in 1999 by a language committee composed of leaders from the religious, educational and political domains (Schaumberger and Schaumberger MS:12).

¹² I came across a poem written in Yemsa using *fidel*, published in a magazine from the administration of the Yem Special Wereda.

¹³ Apart from the newspapers used as wallpaper.

1. Introduction

1.2.4. General characteristics and peculiarities of Yemsa

Yemsa is characterised by an SOV word order and a pervasive head-final syntax in general. Dependent clauses precede main clauses. In morphology, suffixes are widely used. These traits are common among other Omotic languages and among Ethiopian languages in general. Clause chaining is frequent and can result in rather long chains.

Gender is a prominent category in Yemsa, as it is marked on nouns, adjectives, pronouns and verbs. It can be marked in a variety of ways, be it by morphology or tone. While the category refers to natural gender in nouns and adjectives—with feminine as default—gender is partly grammatical in verbal agreement: Where person is not marked in a given verb form, the different persons pattern either with the masculine or feminine 3rd person forms.

The verbal system stands out because of the wide variety of different forms, specified for use in main and dependent clauses, different moods, aspects and utterance types. These forms and their functions will be the subject of the main part of this dissertation.

Segmental phonology does not display many peculiarities. The special phonemes /r'/ and /'y/ have to be mentioned. In the tonal domain, Yemsa features a three-tone system with depressor effects and some cross-linguistically uncommon downstep rules (cf. section 2.6 below). Gender marking is the only instance of grammatical tone.

After this spotlight-like characterisation, in the next few subsections attention will be drawn to some features that are not covered in the following chapters.

Different registers of politeness

A peculiar feature of Yemsa is the presence of different registers of politeness, manifested both in lexicon and grammar. Earlier writers have drawn attention to the phenomenon, e.g. Cerulli (1938), Straube (1963), Lamberti (1993) and Schaumberger (MSa), (MSb) in their works on grammar, ethnography and lexicon, and Wedekind (1986) and Aklilu Yilma (1992) in dedicated articles.

Most lexemes have only one form for all three registers, but parts of the Yemsa lexicon are organised in such a way that there are lexemes specific for the common, the polite and the royal register. These register-sensitive lexemes designate mainly body parts and body-related actions. In the lexicon database (Schaumberger MSb) around one hundred lexemes are from the polite register and seven from the royal one. Most of the royal register is already lost since Yengar ceased to be a kingdom more than one hundred years ago, and consequently, there was no one left to be addressed using the terms reserved for the king. Some items may also have shifted from the royal to the polite register. Straube (1963) notes that the royal register is larger than the polite one, and several of these 'royal' lexemes are now in the polite register.

The example below is an illustration of the use of the polite register, uttered in a situation where several men are addressed in a polite way. In the direct speech sentence, every lexeme is available in the polite register. If this was not the case, a

lexeme of the common register would have been used.

- (1.1) “*Kéy-sē-fāa-t kōp’āa-s-ō¹⁴ kūug-àa-t shō’tō-sò-nì*”
 sit_{POL}-PL-SEQ.F-SS water_{POL}-DEF-ACC.f drink_{POL}-SEQ.F-SS stand.up_{POL}-PL-2POL
yī-n; ...
 say.3-DS
 ‘“Sit down, drink water and stand up”, he said;...’

The following list contains lexemes that occur in different politeness registers:

Common	Polite	Royal	
<i>sīyā</i>	<i>āfnā</i>	—	‘nose’
<i>kā</i>	<i>kéepū</i>	—	‘life’
<i>ākā</i>	<i>kōp’ā</i>	—	‘water’
<i>āsū</i>	<i>māanō</i>	—	‘wife’
<i>tērma</i>	<i>nò’āmā</i>	—	‘tongue’
<i>ūsā</i>	<i>sàrk’ā</i>	—	‘ensete bread’
<i>sìnā</i>	<i>tègā</i>	—	‘front, forehead’
<i>sūnā</i>	<i>tíkā</i>	—	‘name’
<i>ōdō</i>	<i>wèyà</i>	—	‘ear’
<i>mū</i>	<i>tār’ā</i>	<i>bōstō</i>	‘eat’
<i>úshā</i>	<i>kúygū, kéepū</i>	<i>bōstō</i>	‘drink’
<i>yō, hāmā</i>	<i>ōfō</i>	<i>mùchō</i>	‘come’, ‘go’
<i>yō</i>	<i>ōfō</i>	<i>zūgū</i>	‘come’, ‘visit’
<i>wòllō, mākō</i>	<i>būrō</i>	<i>wòmātū</i>	‘talk’, ‘tell’
<i>ārū</i>	<i>āzzū</i>	—	‘learn, know’
<i>màktō</i>	<i>fùshàfúshtō</i>	—	‘be hungry, starve’
<i>mèttō</i>	<i>séltō</i>	—	‘be(come) sick’
<i>āfā’ō</i>	<i>gìgittō</i>	—	‘sleep’
<i>bīyā</i>	<i>kēmō</i>	—	‘see’
<i>dū</i>	<i>kēyū</i>	—	‘sit (down)’
<i>kòonū</i>	<i>kōp’ō, tánō</i>	—	‘give birth’
<i>īmā</i>	<i>kúshō</i>	—	‘give’
<i>èp’ā</i>	<i>kúshō</i>	—	‘take’
<i>kātā</i>	<i>sirmō</i>	—	‘stomach, belly’
<i>màsō</i>	<i>shāaktō</i>	—	‘wash (body)’
<i>kàbū</i>	<i>shō’tō</i>	—	‘stand up’
<i>gàndō</i>	<i>wòshùktō</i>	—	‘fall’

It becomes clear that the lexemes of the different registers do not bear any phonological similarity. However, sometimes a word is cognate to another one with related

¹⁴ The suffixation of the definite marker -s entails the lengthening of a preceding vowel, cf. section 3.7.

1. Introduction

semantics, e.g. *kúshū* ‘hand’ (common) and *kúshō* ‘give, take’ (polite). Systematic etymological studies have not been carried out. Aklilu Yilma (1992:10) points out that the lexemes that have cognates in other Omotic languages are generally found in the common register. He suggests that the elites have invented the corresponding words for the higher registers to set themselves apart from the rest of the population.

In addition to vocabulary specific to socially higher registers, Yemsa has polite sets of pronouns, possessive suffixes and person markers on verbs in the 2nd and 3rd persons. Furthermore, an endearment pronoun *nīt* (accusative, possessive *nītī*, locative *nītīk*) exists in the 2nd person singular.¹⁵ For verbal person marking of this person, the suffix of the 2nd person plural is used without the plural marker. For the paradigm of the personal pronouns see section 3.4 below. The endearment forms are used to address children or to talk to younger adults in a loving way.

In the past, the choice of the appropriate register depended mainly on social status: Officials such as *àstésēr* (ministers), *hèràshō* (province leaders) and clan leaders (cf. section 1.1.2 above), but also married people of a certain status (Aklilu Yilma 1992:10f) were addressed and talked about in the polite forms. The royal register was reserved for the king (*àmnō*) and actions related to him. The different sources unanimously state that inappropriate use of the royal register could have serious consequences for the individual, up to the death penalty (cf. e.g. Cerulli (1938:61)).

Nowadays, after the formal stratification of the Yem society has ceased to exist, the forms of the polite register are used to address older and respected persons in general, both men and women. The royal register is no more in use.

Word order

The basic word order is (subject) - (object) - verb. This holds for matrix (ex. (1.2a)) and dependent clauses (ex. (1.2c)). The predicate is either a verb phrase or, in nominal sentences, an adjective or noun phrase (cf. 1.2b)).

- (1.2) a. *Súufī ùtō kòotè.*
 S. dish cook
 S O V
 ‘Suufi cooked a dish.’
- b. *Bǎr tà zòmó.*
 he my friend.m
 S PRED
 ‘He is my friend.’
- c. *Zéemmà gāwāa-s-ō màss-à hóossī-r-à dùus-àa-t,*
 first.F pot-DEF-ACC.f wash.CV-F be.ready.CAUS-CV-F sit.CAUS-SEQ.F-SS
 O V V V

¹⁵ The presence of the endearment pronoun is neither mentioned by Lamberti (1993) nor by Schaumberger (MSa) but it is addressed by Aklilu Yilma (1992).

1.2. The Yemsa language

àmàmà, sùntō, chàkchàkū fōocch-à, fir'ĩ-r-à, màss-à,
 onion garlic ginger peel.by.hand.CV-F peel.by.knife-CV-F wash.CV-F
 O O O V V V
mù'ĩ-r-à dùus-àa-t,
 chop-CV-F sit.CAUS-SEQ.F-SS
 V V

‘First, she washed the pot and put it aside, then she peeled, washed and cut onions, garlic and ginger and put them aside, then...’

In the position after the predicate only a few particles can occur (see e.g. ex. (1.35) further below in this section). The only other element possible in this position is an afterthought (ex. (3.53) in section 3.3). Peripheral arguments occur between the subject and the verb, either before or after the direct object; adverbs may occur in any position before the predicate.

Within the noun phrase, the order is strictly modifier - head: adjective - (pro)noun, numeral - (pro)noun, demonstrative - (pro)noun, possessor - possessed, attribute - (pro)noun, relative clause - (pro)noun. When there is more than one modifier, the demonstrative is at the beginning of the noun phrase, while the numeral is in second position. The adjective tends to be closest to the head. However, according to examples from texts, there is some flexibility. This is especially true for the placement of attributes, relative clauses and possessors.

Copular and existential constructions

Because Yemsa lacks a copula in affirmative declaratives, property assignment, class inclusion, identification and group membership are expressed through juxtaposition of subject and predicate nominal in nominal sentences. This is valid for non-future temporal reference, while for future events the verb *sìnà* ‘become, be’ is used in a common verbal sentence. Examples:

- (1.3) *Ìnnō kèyàa-s ìnyà.*
 our house-DEF big.f
 ‘Our house is/was big.’
- (1.4) *Ìnnō kèyàa-s ìnyà sìn-à-nā.*
 our house-DEF big.f become-IRR-3FUT
 ‘Our house will be big.’

In questions, the interrogative copula =*nō* is attached to the predicate:

- (1.5) *Nè kèyàa-s ìnyà=**nō**?*
 2sPOSS house-DEF big.f=COP_Q
 ‘Is/was your house big?’

To negate a nominal sentence, the negative copula -*tá* (fem.) or -*tè* (masc.) is suffixed to the predicate.

1. Introduction

- (1.6) a. *Īnnō kèyàa-s inyà-tá.*
 our house-DEF big.f-COP_{NEG.f}
 ‘Our house is/was not big.’
 b. *Tà àbăa-s dīch-tê.*
 my father-DEF tall.m-COP_{NEG.m}
 ‘My father is/was not tall.’

To express existence and possession, existential sentences are used. They are formed by means of the irregular verb *fō* ‘be there, live’ (cf. section 4.3 below). In existential sentences, the nominalised simple form of *fō* ‘be there, live’ is used.¹⁶

- (1.7) *Mīyā dèy fâ-r.*
 cow TOP be.there.3f-NML
 ‘A cow is/was also there.’

Possession is most often expressed through a possessive suffix on the possessum and the existential verb:

- (1.8) *Yēm shòwō tés-bā fâ-r.*
 Y. many clan-3mPOSS.f be.there.3f-NML
 ‘The Yem have many clans.’

Location can either be expressed by a nominal or an existential sentence:

- (1.9) *Tà àbăa-s-ā kèyà Āddis Āabā(-k fâ-r).*
 my father-DEF-GEN.m house Addis Ababa-LOC.f be.there.3f-NML
 ‘My father’s house is in Addis Ababa.’

Existential sentences are negated through the non-nominalised negative simple form of the existential verb *fō* ‘be there, live’ preceded by *âa-*.

- (1.10) *Kūp’ō hān kèer âa-fâ.*
 bed DEM house_{LOC} NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘There is no bed in this house/room.’

Utterance types

There are distinct verbal paradigms for statements (affirmative and negative declarative), commands (affirmative and negative jussive/imperative), wishes (optative, only affirmative) and regrets (counterfactual obligative, affirmative and negative). To form a polar question, an interrogative suffix is added to the declarative or jussive verb form. It is not needed in content questions with interrogative pronouns. Furthermore, clefting plays an important role in question formation.

A separate paper on utterance types in Yemsa is in preparation (Zaugg-Coretti forthc.), from which the examples in this subsection are taken. The different verbal

¹⁶ This is the case unless the focus marker *=tu* is present in the same sentence, cf. section 1.2.4.

1.2. The Yemsa language

paradigms and their use will be presented in chapters 4 and 6. Here, the main emphasis lies on interrogative formation.

In polar questions, the main verb carries an extra suffix *-o* at the end (*-no* in two cases). Otherwise, the verb form is not changed. Interrogative verb forms exist for all declarative forms except for the nominalised imperfective. The non-nominalised future uses different interrogative suffixes which will be presented in greater depth below. In addition, interrogative forms exist for the 3rd person jussive.

Declarative, simple form:

- (1.11) *Ìzgìn mājà-nāwā isà éetó-nā mèrik-sè-r-ē dùp-ō-sī hām-è-tē.*
 nine hyena.m-and.m one lion.m-and.m discuss-PL-CV-M hunt-VN-in go-PL-3POL
 ‘Nine hyenas and one lion decided to go hunting.’

Interrogative, simple form:

- (1.12) *Màngshā kár'-tē-ō?*
 M. reach-3POL-Q
 ‘Did he reach Mangsha?’

Content questions use the interrogative pronouns and particles shown in table 1.1. They may occur with nominal case markers¹⁷. The interrogative suffix is absent in content questions. Questions often occur in the form of clefts with a constituent in

‘who?’	<i>ò?</i>	ACC <i>ò-n?</i> , <i>ò-nīn?</i> ; COMIT <i>ò-nēen?</i>
‘what?’	<i>āw?</i>	LOC <i>āw-k?</i> ; GEN <i>āw-ni?</i>
‘where?’	<i>āy?</i>	ABL <i>āy-n?</i> ; SUP <i>āy-tā?</i>
‘how?’	<i>ākkā?</i>	LOC <i>ākkā-k?</i>
‘how many?’	<i>ápún?</i>	
‘when?’	<i>āgē?</i>	COMIT <i>āgē-nēen?</i>
‘which?’	<i>āffà?</i>	

Table 1.1.: Interrogative pronouns and particles

focus. In content questions, the focussed constituent is the interrogative pronoun or particle, marked by *-mba* (f) or *-mbe* (m). If it is the subject which is questioned the verb receives the suffix *-y*, which is a variant of the definite suffix (cf. section 3.7 below) and marks the subject in a headless relative clause; the interrogative pronoun *ò* ‘who?’ is in the accusative case. A zero copula is assumed between the verb and the interrogative pronoun:

¹⁷ In table 1.1 only the forms that were found in the database are included. Other case-marked forms are conceivable.

The locative case can have instrumental meaning; the comitative can have temporal meaning.

1. Introduction

- (1.13) *Āaf-nèe-s-ō gāchá-y ò-n-sō¹⁸?*
 eye-2sPOSS-DEF-ACC.f open.m-DEF who-ACC-ADR_Q.m
 ‘Who was the one who opened your eye?’

If a main verb occurs in a question where a constituent other than the subject is in focus, it does not receive finite marking, but occurs in the form it otherwise assumes when used adnominally¹⁹:

- (1.14) *Tāamm-ē āy-mbâ wāagè-f-ēnâ?*
 take.to.CV-M where-FOC_Q.f buy/sell-IPFV-3m
 ‘Where did they take (the slaves) to sell them?’

In clefted polar questions, the interrogative copula =*no* is added to the focussed constituent. Again, the final verb occurs in the adnominal form.

- (1.15) *Ūsh-nì káss-ū és kābā=nō jāmmàrè-nā?*
 local.beer-GEN.f bake-VN DEM time=COP_Q begin-3[.DEP]
 ‘Was it at that time that the brewing of local beer started?’

Instead of a focussed nominal, a dependent verb form may occur with =*no*:

- (1.16) *Kár’-á-nā-nnēen=nó òod-nā?*
 reach-IRR-1s-TEMP₁=COP_Q wait-3
 ‘Will he wait until I come?’

Nominalisation of verbs and clauses

-*r* is a frequent suffix in Yemsa, and it occurs with different but related functions in different contexts. These functions will be sketched out in this section; the mood- and aspect-related ones will be treated in greater depth in the relevant chapters.

First, -*r* is treated as a nominaliser since the following functions are regarded as basic:

Formation of agentive nouns from verbs:

- (1.17) *Yè-sè-tēesē ēwāa-s-ōn kách’-é-r kách’-ē-n, wàar’-ā-r*
 come.M-PL-3POL.TEMP₂ ensete-DEF-ACC.f cut.m-NML cut.3-DS dig.m-NML
wàar’-ī-n, shèdī-r shèdī-n, wāashá-r
 dig.3-DS remove.leaves.m-NML remove.leaves.3-DS harvest.ensete.m-NML
wāashī-n, ūwāa-s-ōn búlě-r búlě-n
 harvest.ensete.3-DS ensete.root-DEF-ACC.f chop.m-NML chop.3-DS
wòstè-sé-f-ē.²⁰
 work-PL-IPFV-3POL

¹⁸ The address suffix -*so* will be addressed below.

¹⁹ This form is described in section 8.1.

‘When they have come the ensete cutters cut, the diggers dig, the leaf removers remove (dry) leaves, the ensete harvesters harvest ensete (by scraping out the pith) and the choppers chop the ensete roots; (that is how) they work.’

Adjective predication:

- (1.18) *Àmǎlā-bâ dèy mǎ’ā-r.*
 character-3fPOSS.f TOP good-NML
 ‘Her character is good (= a good one).’

(Compare the attributive use without *-r*: *mǎ’ā kórmá* ‘good bull’)

Index of the possessed noun in a genitive construction or possessive pronoun:

- (1.19) *Hān-bār bùlínnyá-s-ā-r/ tàa-r.*
 DEM-3sf farmer-DEF-GEN.m-NML 1sPOSS-NML
 ‘This is the farmer’s / mine.’

Inflected main verb forms can also be nominalised by suffixing *-r* to them. Examples can be found throughout this dissertation. On the one hand, they play a role in focus constructions (cf. further below in this section).

On the other hand, nominalised main verbs have developed other functions that are not related to information structure: There is a semantic difference between the nominalised future and the non-nominalised one (cf. chapter 6). The nominalised progressive is used interchangeably with its non-nominalised counterpart, and the nominalised simple may convey aspectual meanings (cf. chapter 7). In such contexts *-r* does not nominalise a clause syntactically.

Information structure

The most important markers are the focus clitic *=tu* and the topic particle *dèy*.

The focus marker *=tu* is described in Zaugg-Coretti (2009), from which part of this section is adapted. Its occurrence signals narrow focus, i.e. the focus is on one constituent, as opposed to sentence focus. Only one constituent in a sentence can be focused by *=tu*.

When *=tu* is used to focus the grammatical relation of the subject, the verb always occurs in the 3rd person, agreeing in gender with the subject. Furthermore, the verb is obligatorily nominalised by the suffix *-r* and most often followed by the address suffix (see below). This is a cleft sentence, yet one without a copula, since the copula is zero in affirmative declaratives.

²⁰ This example corresponds to ex. (8.18) in chapter 8. – The high tones before *-r* are markers of masculine gender.

1. Introduction

- (1.20) *Yèm-is=tū Yèm-isī wòlgì-r-ē wàagě-r-wā.*
 Yem-DEF=FOC Yem-DEF.ACC.m return-CV-M buy/sell.m-NML-ADR.m
 ‘It was the Yem themselves who sold the Yem.’

When *=tu* occurs with grammatical relations other than subject, it is not used in a cleft sentence, but simply added to the constituent in focus.

- (1.21) *Kúshū-k=tū tìr’ō súkk-ē wàndàbō, kútā mǎy-f-ē.*
 hand-LOC.f=FOC cotton spin.CV-M [kind.of.dress] [kind.of.dress] wear-IPFV-3POL
 ‘She spins the cotton BY HAND and wears *wandabo* and *kuta*.’

The focus marker *=tu* is frequently used with locational expressions such as *kâtāmāas-sī=tū* ‘in the town’, *Jímmā=tū* ‘in Jimma’. Furthermore, it can be used on adverbs (e.g. *àkāmānòn=tū* ‘a lot’) and on converbs, but not on finite main verbs.

- (1.22) “*Àkā ússh-à kēs-fāa-t=tū kà’ōo-s-īn mǎ-nā-wā*”
 water drink.CV-F exit/ascend-SEQ.F-SS=FOC monkey-DEF-ACC.m eat.IRR-1s-ADR.m
yī-r-ē éetó òod-f-ēnà kābāa-s-īk; (...)
 say-CV-M Lion.m wait-IPFV-3m time-DEF-LOC.f
 ‘“After drinking water I will eat the monkey”, said Lion while he was waiting. (...)’

A finite main verb can be focussed by placing a corresponding verbal noun marked by *=tu* in front of it:

- (1.23) *Kòrbōo ībē [Yèm-nī] Yèm-nī kēj-à=tū kēj-f-ē.*
 Gurage.DEF earlier.time Yem-ACC.m Yem-ACC.m stab-VN=FOC stab-IPFV-3m
 ‘The Gurage used to FIGHT the Yem.’

Cross-linguistically, the use of *=tu* on locational expressions and its function to separate conceptual units in clause chains is most interesting. The latter function is suggested by most of the uses on converbs, cf. Zaugg-Coretti (2009).

dèy is a topic-marker that is optionally placed after the topic, often in case of subject change.

- (1.24) *Māmsi-nā, “Gārō wònà fàar-à=tū nè-k mǎlsī*
 ask-DS.1s little time count.CV-f=FOC 2s-LOC answer[AMH]
wòlg-ū-nā-wà” yī-n; tá dèy gārō wònà òodīn.
 return-IRR-1s-ADR.m say.3-DS 1s TOP little time wait.1s
 ‘I asked, and she told me: “After some time I will give you an answer.” So I waited for some time.’

It has a second meaning ‘also’:

- (1.25) *Ìmàtā dèy bàr-isī gīrì.*
 butter TOP 3f-in enter
 ‘Butter was also added.’ (Lit.: ‘also entered into it’)

It is also frequent before enumerations:

- (1.26) *Kàssōo-s-ī tésā dēy ásmā, kèllē, finfillō,*
 game-DEF-GEN.f kind TOP [game.with.a.ring] [kind.of.hockey] [jumping.with.a.stick]
kàbō.
 wrestling
 ‘The different games are *asma*, *kelle*, *finfillo* and wrestling.’

Another topic marker is =nu, which can be translated as ‘even’ in many of its occurrences.

- (1.27) *Nàangòt-bèsì-sī tàkō-nòn=nū bàas kúshū-k=tū*
 children-3POL.POSS-DEF-GEN.f blanket-ACC=even 3sPOL hand-LOC.f=FOC
súkk-ē wìchí-f-ē.
 spin.CV-M weave.CAUS-IPFV-3POL
 ‘She even spins her children’s blanket by hand and has (it) woven.’

- (1.28) *Mīyāa-s=nū és àsù-nīk wàag-tē bàr.*
 cow-DEF=even DEM man-LOC.m trade-PASS 3sf
 ‘Even the cows were sold [lit.: sold ones] to those men.’

The nominaliser -r as a marker of theticity As mentioned further above in this section, -r often occurs on inflected main verbs. The ban on the co-occurrence of the nominaliser -r and the focus marker =tu in other than subject focus constructions points to the concept of theticity or sentence-focus, a reading with no focus - presupposition structure, where no constituent is in focus and the whole state of affairs is presented as new or important (Sasse (1987), Lambrecht (1994, 1998)). Cross-linguistically, nominalisation is one of several strategies languages use to convey theticity, and, indeed, we often find nominalised verb forms in general statements or at the beginning of narratives in Yemsa:

- (1.29) *Ìsà isà kábā zàannyō àsù-nī sáar’ā-r.*
 one one time baboon man-ACC.m bite.f-NML
 ‘Sometimes, baboons bite men.’
- (1.30) *Ìsà wònō kà’ō dīchā ì’ō-nì bōgsī dī-f-ē-r.*
 one day monkey tall.f tree-GEN.f top.in sit-IPFV-3POL-NML
 ‘One day Monkey was sitting in a tall tree.’

To further distinguish attitudes and assumptions of the speaker about the addressee’s attitudes, there are a number of particles and suffixes.

1. Introduction

The address suffix **-wā/-wé** is optionally added at the end of a sentence. Its counterpart in questions is **-sō/-sé**. It is marked for gender of the addressee, **-wé/-sé** being the feminine, **-wā/-sō** the masculine counterpart.²¹ **-wā** also occurs in contexts where there is no specified or important addressee or a general audience. The address suffix has some specialised uses:

- It is commonly found on imperative, less often on jussive and optative verb forms. There and on other main verbs it signals strong commitment to the content of the utterance and is used by the speaker to add weight to the statement, command or wish.²²
- In narrative texts, it is very frequent at the end of declarative direct speech, before the verb *wū* ‘say’ (*yī* in simple form, *yīrā/yīrē* in general converb form).
- Its occurrence as part of subject focus marking is common, but not obligatory.

For illustration, consider the following examples.

In ex. (1.31) the address suffix is used to give more weight to the statement.

- (1.31) *Ně nīb-nè=nù àa-fá-wā.*
 2s heart-2sPOSS=even NEG-be.there.3f-ADR.m
 ‘You have no heart.’ (=‘You are a fool.’)

The next example is an instance of direct speech. A certain commitment to the utterance on behalf of the speaker seems to be included.

- (1.32) *Yèsŭs “Ày-nē kàb-ù-nā-wé.” yī.*
 Jesus brother-2sPOSS stand.up-IRR-3FUT-ADR.f say
 ‘Jesus said: “Your brother will rise again.” ’

However, direct speech can also be marked by the address suffix without being uttered to a specific addressee.

The next example shows the use of the address suffix on an optative verb form. For its use on imperatives, refer to section 6.1.2 below.

²¹ This distribution is contrary to other gender-marked affixes where *-a* has feminine and *-e* masculine value, such as the imperfective vowel occurring after the imperfective suffix or the negative copula suffix (cf. 4.11.2).

The tonal behaviour of this suffix is not fully understood yet. Sometimes *-wā* takes the low tone from the preceding syllable, e.g. if it replaces the stem vowel *-à* in an imperative or if it is placed after a low person suffix in a jussive form, cf. section 6.1.2. Furthermore, it is often realised with a low tone after a mid syllable. *-wé* on the other hand is realised with a low tone if it replaces the stem vowel *-à* in an imperative or after certain suffixes.

²² This is consistent with Cerulli’s (1938:25) characterisation of this suffix (he only speaks of the masculine form *-wa*) as ‘suffisso rafforzativo’. However, I do not agree with him when he mentions a second function as a copula, as nominal sentences may also occur without *-wa* (which is in fact recognised by Cerulli (1938:42) himself). Therefore, the copula is better analysed as zero and *-wa* in the way I attempt to in the present paragraph.

- (1.33) *Hā'ō nè-k īm-àw-ng-wè.*
 God 2s-LOC give-OPT-3-ADR.f
 'May God give you.'

The interrogative address suffix *-sō/-sé* occurs both on polar and on content questions and is optionally used in addition to the interrogative markers. It is added at the end of the question or on the interrogative word in clefted content questions. It is mainly found in direct speech in narrative texts, such as the following example:

- (1.34) *Ìsà wònō Yèsūs āafbā fóontó àsù-sséen ùp'è-r-ē*
 one day Jesus eye.3mPOSS.f without man-DEF.COMIT.m meet-CV-M
"Biyá-tā-k shōlē-f-àt-ò-sō?" yī-r-ē māmī-n;
 see.IRR-2s-LOC want-IPFV-2s-Q-ADRQ.m say-CV-M ask.3-DS
 'One day Jesus met a blind man and asked him: "Do you want to see?"'

The particle *ká* occurs at the end of a sentence to emphasise some previously stated fact or expected event. Thus, one can say *Wòstè ká!* 'It works!' after waiting for some piece of equipment to work.

The following example was uttered when a group gathering outside a house had repeatedly been called inside to have coffee, but some members had ignored the invitation so far. One man then told the others that they really should go in now:

- (1.35) *Būnā úsh-á-nī ká.*
 coffee drink-IRR-1pJUSS PART
 'Let's drink coffee now!'

Another example is ex. (3.50) in section 3.3.3.

The particle *tò* is used to recall a known fact, similar to 'don't you remember that...?', and to present the fact as the reason for something else.

In the following example the narrator speaks of cows that were sold by slave traders after they had sold their owners as slaves. Nobody could object to them selling the cows, since

- (1.36) *Àbà-bāy-s tò wàag-tè-wā.*
 father-3fPOSS.m-DEF PART buy/sell-PASS-ADR.m
 'The owners were sold, after all.'

In negative statements, *tò* seems to signal insecurity:

- (1.37) *Àané gīr-ù-tō tò.*
 NEG enter-IRR-NEG.3POL PART
 'He did not enter, I think.'

The semantics of this particle needs further study.

1. Introduction

The particle *wây* signals strong objection to the previous statement.

Thus, the following example is the snake's answer to Eve in the garden of Eden when she had said that they would die after eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil:

- (1.38) **Wây**, *hān-bār-ò* *mà-fáa-tī-nē* *ăaf-nīti* *gàcchó-nā*.
no.way DEM-3sf-ACC eat-SEQ-2END-COND eye-2END.POSS open.PASS.IRR-3
'No way, if you eat this your eye(s) will be opened.'

There are other attitudinal markers that are not yet understood well enough. These are the particle *yá* and the clitics =*nyáwò* and =*nnāwō*, which may have to do with contrastive focus, as well as *wo* in negative sentences.

1.3. The present work

This thesis aims at a description of the Yemsa verbal system that is as accurate and comprehensive as possible. Besides the morphological and tonal make-up of the forms, I have taken special interest in their functions. Some aspects of the noun phrase are included as well, besides selected issues in syntax and information structure (see the preceding section 1.2.4). Compared to earlier descriptions, the main gaps I have tried to fill include tonology, the identification and description of more verb forms and functional descriptions of aspect and dependent verb forms. In the domain of the noun phrase, case and definiteness are topics that I have tackled from a functional point of view.

Of course, shortcomings are inevitable, and, due to the limitations of time and data, there may still be conclusions that are not entirely correct. The remaining gaps in the descriptions of syntax and information structure are hoped to be filled by future research.

I did not choose a specific theoretical framework for this dissertation. With the available data as a starting point, the first aim was to describe the rules of grammar and phonology as accurately as possible and then to find explanations wherever possible. Identified phenomena are viewed from a cross-linguistic perspective. Specialised theories are referred to where they have explanatory power and relevance for the Yemsa data.

1.3.1. Data

The data used in this dissertation were gathered during four field trips in 2006, 2008 and 2009. In February/March 2006 I worked for four weeks in Sokoru and later that year for one week in Sokoru and four weeks in Addis Ababa. Throughout the whole fieldwork, my main informants were Nigatu Gebresilaase (in his early thirties) and Birru Rago (in his late fifties), who had worked on an SIL project earlier and who were

therefore already familiar with the expectations and type of questions a linguist could possibly have. Stories and other texts were obtained from a range of people of different age and sex. For four weeks in July/August 2008, I again worked with my informants in Addis Ababa but felt the need to spend some time in the Yem area proper. I did this in February 2009, living with a family in the village of Karateya in Yengar for ten days and spending some more days working with the previous informants in Sokoru.

As for the nature of the data, I chose a mixture of elicitation and natural texts, which I continuously checked against each other. Texts have the advantage of providing new forms and showing them in their natural environment, whereas elicitation is needed to obtain paradigms and to tackle specific functional questions. The available descriptions and sketches were used as a starting point, directing me to interesting topics and open questions.

The metalanguages were English (Nigatu Gebresilaase) and Amharic (Birru Rago). In the course of the field work the special abilities of the informants led to some specialisation: Functional subtleties were discussed with Nigatu, whereas Birru provided me with short stories and descriptions of cultural activities. Both were engaged in transcription help and tone whistling, unnegligible parts of the work. As Nigatu is trained in tone writing, this was a further task he accomplished in a very serious manner.

The text corpus contains short invented stories, fables, personal experiences, process descriptions and some retellings of Biblical stories; such shorter texts were for a large part obtained from Birru Rago, one from Nigatu Gebresilaase and one from Suufi Tekle Maram, the housekeeper's wife. The texts that were recorded in Yengar comprise fables, historical accounts, process descriptions, personal opinions and blessings. They were told by different narrators, some of them elders renowned as storytellers, others—the younger ones—spontaneously engaged in telling what crossed their mind. I made an effort to record both men and women. Dialogues were difficult to record because people were reluctant to be recorded during a discussion. Nevertheless, I managed to record some natural dialogues immediately following a story, and others occur in the stories themselves.

A further, but rather marginal source of data was published material written in Yemsa, such as stories, first-reader booklets and the Gospel of Luke. I tried to include as many examples as possible from natural texts, but here and there I preferred elicited examples for their simplicity and illustrative power.

1.3.2. Orthography

The orthography used in the present work is the official Yemsa orthography with slight adaptations. The orthography is based on latin script and was approved by a language committee and local leaders on May 30th 1999 (Schaumberger and Schaumberger MS). Some sounds are represented by two graphs: ⟨ch⟩ stands for /tʃ/, ⟨sh⟩ for /ʃ/, ⟨ny⟩ for /ɲ/, ⟨ng⟩ for /ŋ/, ⟨'y⟩ for /ʔʲ/ and ⟨C'⟩ for glottalised consonants. The graphemes

1. *Introduction*

that differ from the IPA letters are provided in the phoneme charts (tables 2.1 and 2.8 in chapter 2). Long vowels and geminate consonants are rendered by two successive identical letters; only the first is repeated in the case of the two-graph graphemes. The adaptations concern the tones, where I write high (´), mid (¯), low (`) and rising (˘) tone instead of leaving the mid tone unmarked as in the official orthography. On long vowels, I write tone on the first graph only. Tone marking in texts is phonetic with the following exceptions: I do not mark downdrift, and rising tones starting from mid I mark like other rising tones. Suffixes cited in isolation are written with their inherent tone.

In phonemic and phonetic transcription the IPA symbols are used.

1.3.3. **Glossing style**

I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules as a guideline. As far as possible and reasonable, the same morpheme is glossed in the same way throughout, and all morphemes are glossed in whatever context the examples occur. Some distinctions, however, were only made where relevant to the discussion. This concerns the realis-irrealis distinction (realis is left unglossed in most of the examples) and the set of specific person markers (only person is indicated in most of the examples, not the paradigm a specific marker belongs to). By doing so, I hope to keep the glosses at the same time as unambiguous and as readable as possible.

2. Phonology

The segmental part of this description of Yemsa phonology is based on Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001), with some adjustments. The description of tone, on the other hand, is based on my own analysis, which was also inspired by insights sketched in Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001).

2.1. Consonants

Yemsa has twenty-nine consonant phonemes. They are shown in table 2.1.

	Labial	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosives/Affricates	p b	t d	tʃ <ch> dʒ <j>	k g	ʔ <'> ʔʲ <'y>
Glottalised consonants	p'	t' r' s'	tʃ' <ch'>	k'	
Fricatives	f	s z	ʃ <sh>		h
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Liquids		l r			
Approximants	w		j <y>		

Table 2.1.: Consonant phonemes

In the following sections, the possible positions of the consonants within the word are discussed, along with phonetic realisation and allomorphy.

Consonants are rather rare in word-final position. The vast majority of nouns—including verbal nouns, which are the citation form of verbs—end with the vowels /a/, /o/ or /u/. Certain masculine nouns and adjectives end with a consonant. Otherwise, word-final consonants are found in closed word classes like numerals, demonstratives or ideophones. Some consonants, however, are frequent in the final position of inflected words because they are used as suffixes, e.g. /s/ (definite suffix), /r/ (nominaliser), /n/ (different subject marker) /k/ (locative case) and /t/ (same subject marker).

2.1.1. Plosives

Yemsa treats affricates like plosives. All plosives except /ʔ/ and /ʔʲ/ occur in a voiced and a voiceless variant. Table 2.2 shows the occurrence of the plosives in different positions in a word.

2. Phonology

	Word-initial		Word-medial		Word-final
p	pèjà ‘ensete string’	dùpà ‘sting’	hèp ‘two’		
b	bōtō ‘bee’	ʔēbō ‘spear’	tèbèb ‘fly away’ (IDEO)		
t	tūjō ‘spit’	hètà ‘medicine’	èt ‘sister’		
d	dīmā ‘place’	ʔōdō ‘hear’	dù:d kind of antelope (m.)		
ʈ	ʈīmà ‘be able’	íʈfā ‘hit’	ú:ʈ ‘five’		
ɖ	ɖòʔō ‘explode’	tūɖō ‘spit’	–		
k	kàrā ‘black’	ʔàkā ‘water’	ʔék ‘over there’		
g	gùmā ‘enemy’	mègā ‘bone’	mă:g ‘priest’ (m.)		
ʔ	ʔēbō ‘spear’	bōʔā ‘cabbage’	ʃéʔ ‘red’ (m.)		
ʔʲ	–	ʔà:ʔʲà ‘share’	àfāʔʲ ‘sleep’ (n)		

Table 2.2.: Plosives in different positions

Although all consonants are rare in word-final position, it is not the case that voiced plosives generally do not occur word-finally—contrary to what was stated in Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001:14).

The glottal stop is phonologically conditioned word-initially; it occurs if other consonants are absent. For that reason it is not written in the orthography in word-initial position. It sometimes occurs in variation with /h/ word-initially (see discussion in section 2.1.3).

/p/ seems to be rare in word-initial position.

/ʔʲ/ is generally rare and does not occur in word-initial position. Contrary to Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001), but in line with Lamberti (1993), I treat it as a phoneme, not as a consonant cluster of /ʔ/ and /j/, since this would lead to a sequence of three consonants in some cases, which is otherwise not allowed (cf. section 2.3.1 below). Furthermore, /ʔʲ/ is often realised as its non-palatalised variant /ʔ/ (E.g. /ʔà:ʔʲà/ or /ʔà:ʔà/ ‘share’).

As for the realisation of the plosives, let me cite Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001):

‘Word initially, between two vowels and word finally they are generally aspirated, while before another consonant the aspiration is strongly reduced or even omitted. Voiceless plosives followed by a nasal are sometimes released nasally. (...) /b/ is sometimes pronounced as an approximant.’

In addition, /k/ has fricative and uvular allomorphs when it occurs next to the lower back vowels /a/ and /o/:

- Word-initially: [kx̠] and [q̠x̠] before /a/ and /o/;
- Word-medially: [x] between two /a/s, as in /ʔàkā/ [ʔa¹xa²] ‘water’;

- Word-finally: [q] after /a/ and /o/.

The alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ are pronounced apically: [t̪], [d̪].

2.1.2. Glottalised consonants

Glottalised consonants are of limited distribution in Yemsa, as shown in table 2.3. They do not occur word-finally – with the exception of /r'/ – and in word-initial position they are found only in loans. /s'/ only occurs in loan words altogether and is thus marginal. Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001:17) and Lamberti (1993:33) hypothesise that also /p'/, /t'/, /tʃ'/ and /k'/ entered Yemsa only relatively recently.¹

Bender (1988:124) notes for Yemsa that ‘Janjero has no glottalics...’ – to be more precise, the glottalics present in the proto-language were replaced by other consonants. Apparently, as synchronic evidence shows, they have been reintroduced to varying degrees.

	Word-initial		Word-medial		Word-final
p'	–		ʔèp'à	‘take’	–
t'	t'ilòshī	‘bride price’	nǎ:t'ō	‘prance, run’	–
r'	–		kùr'ū	‘old’	hà:r' ‘wet’ (m.)
s'	–		màs'ǎfā	‘book’	–
tʃ'	tʃ'à:m:ā	‘shoe’	tàtʃ'āmā	traditional belt	–
k'	k'ùrt'ümī	‘fish’	ʔàlàk'ā	‘calf’	–

Table 2.3.: Glottalised consonants in different positions

Word-medially, /r'/ and /p'/ are considerably more frequent than the other ejectives. The phoneme /r'/ is reported to be realised as implosive [ɗ] in some varieties around Jimma (Derib Ado p.c.). However, I do not have personal evidence for an implosive articulation. Rather, /r'/ is realised as a glottalised tap. A phoneme /r'/ is also reported for Kambaata, where it occurs in some twenty words (Treis 2008:35f).

2.1.3. Fricatives

/z/ is the only voiced fricative; at the labiodental and postalveolar places of articulation only the voiceless fricatives /f/ and /ʃ/ occur.

Fricatives—except for /h/—may occupy all positions within a word, as illustrated in table 2.4.

¹ As an indication of this, Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001:17) note that especially elderly people reinterpret /tʃ'/ in /tʃ'à:m:ā/ ‘shoe’ as /tʃ/ followed by the glottal stop, which is consequently moved to the end of the syllable: [tʃàʔmā].

2. Phonology

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
f	f ūr'ā 'flower'	ʔā f à 'grandmother'	kārà f 'very fast' (IDEO)
s	sàwà 'good smell'	ʔùsā 'ensete bread'	wĩ:s 'thief (m.)'
z	z āwā 'snake'	wūzā 'thing'	kè: z 'three'
ɸ	ɸ olō 'want'	ʔú ɸ ā 'drink'	há ɸ 'now'
h	h ōʔā 'soil, mud'	–	–

Table 2.4.: Fricatives in different positions

/f/ and /ɸ/ are extremely rare word-finally; /f/# occurs in only one word of my corpus, the ideophone /kāràf/ 'very fast' given in table 2.4. Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001:15) mention that ' /f/ is rarely pronounced as [ɸ]'. /h/ only occurs in word-initial position, where it is often in variation with /ʔ/, but there is one minimal pair: /húgnā/ 'power' vs. /ʔùgnà/ 'road'. Therefore it has to be considered as a phoneme, though a marginal one. The set of words that may take either /ʔ/ or /h/ or only one of the two before a word-initial vowel does not follow a rule. There is idiolectal variation to a certain degree (cf. Schaumberger and Schaumberger 2001:18).

2.1.4. Nasals

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
m	m ēɕō 't'ef' (kind of cereal)	sú: m ō 'be sad'	tùkǎ m 'poor (m.)'
n	n òr'ō 'sheep and goats'	nò: n ō 'mouth, language'	ʔizgì n 'nine'
ɲ	–	hà ɲ ā 'donkey'	ʔi ɲ 'big (m.)'
ŋ	–	mà ŋ ū 'bad'	hàw ŋ 'today'

Table 2.5.: Nasals in different positions

/ɲ/ and /ŋ/ do not occur word-initially. Before consonants, nasals are partly neutralised due to their assimilation to the place of articulation of the following consonant, i.e. /ŋ/ occurs before velar consonants and /m/ before labial consonants (realised as [m] before /f/). However, labial, alveolar and velar nasals may occur before alveolar consonants. /ɲ/ was not found to occur before a consonant.

2.1.5. Liquids

The distribution of the two liquids is shown in table 2.6. Word-initially, they occur only in loan words; /l/ is also infrequent in word-final position.

/r/ is realised as a tap [ɾ]; it occurs as a trill [r] when geminated.

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
l	lòmijā ‘lemon’	zālā ‘seed’	ʔínkāl ‘mirror’
r	rà:ḡī ‘story’	fàrū ‘recover’	sīr ‘in(to)’

Table 2.6.: Liquids in different positions

2.1.6. Approximants

Table 2.7 shows the approximants in the different positions within a word. The non-

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
j	jērō ‘stand’	kōjā ‘chew’	ʔàj ‘brother’
w	wà:gō ‘buy, sell’	zāwā ‘snake’	ʔāw ‘what’

Table 2.7.: Approximants in different positions

occurrence of the approximants word-medially between certain vowels is systematic and conditioned by phonological rules: /j/ is not pronounced before or after the front vowels /e/ and /i/, and /w/ is not pronounced before or after the back rounded vowels /o/ and /u/. Some examples:

/kèjā/	→	[kèà]	‘house’
/mījā/	→	[mīā]	‘cow’
/nàjérē/	→	[nàérē]	‘him getting frightened’
/kājīfā/	→	[kāifā]	‘she/it grows’
/tʃōwā/	→	[tʃōā]	‘matter’
/kūwā/	→	[kūā]	‘grass’
/kàwō/	→	[kàō]	‘salt’
/mèwū/	→	[mèū]	‘leopard’

I decided to maintain them as phonemes in the cited contexts for the following reasons:

- The gaps of non-realisation of /j/ and /w/ are systematic, or, in other words, the neutralisation can be explained by the place of articulation: The environment of front vowels triggers a deletion of the front approximant, while the environment of back rounded vowels triggers a deletion of the back rounded approximant. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume a corresponding approximant in the relevant environment.
- The non-assumption of approximants in the relevant contexts would lead to an additional syllable structure V (cf. section 2.3 below), which is not desirable.
- The approximant may show up or at least leave a trace when the lexeme concerned occurs in a different grammatical form, e.g. [mīā] + [nī] ‘cow+GEN’ is

2. Phonology

pronounced [mīni] ‘of cow’ with a lengthened [i:] as a trace of the approximant, or the unpronounced /j/ in [kāfā] ‘she/it grows’ appears in the corresponding verbal noun /kājū/ [kājū] ‘grow’.

2.2. Vowels

Yemsa has a five-vowel system with a distinction in vowel length, as shown in table 2.8.

	Front	Back
High	i i:⟨ii⟩	u u:⟨uu⟩
Mid	e e:⟨ee⟩	o o:⟨oo⟩
Low		a a:⟨aa⟩

Table 2.8.: Vowel phonemes

Lexical contrast between short and long vowels is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

/tāmā/ ‘suckle’ vs. /tā:mā/ ‘take somewhere’
 /tōnā/ ‘light (n)’ vs. /tō:nā/ ‘wilderness’
 /sūnā/ ‘name’ vs. /sū:nā/ ‘hump (of cattle)’
 /ʔésā/ ‘fur’ vs. /ʔé:sā/ ‘honey’
 /kītū/ ‘die’ vs. /kì:tū/ ‘advise’

Table 2.9 shows the vowels in the different positions within a word. They do not occur word-initially, since they are obligatorily preceded by the glottal stop (cf. section 2.1.1).

Word-finally, long vowels are not found.² Two long vowels may not co-occur within the same morpheme (Schaumberger and Schaumberger 2001:12).

/a/ is realised between [a] and more back [ɑ]. In contrast to the other back vowels /o/ and /u/ it is not rounded. The realisation of the other vowels may vary between more open and more closed; however, the retracted-tongue-root extremes of the range ([ɔ], [ʊ], [ɛ], [ɪ]) are seldom heard. Sometimes, the realisation depends on the personal style of the speaker.³ A vowel following a nasal is nasalised.

I found no evidence for Lamberti’s (1993:53) ‘stimmloser, tieftoniger Vokal -ⁱ, der meistens mit -∅ alterniert’ (‘voiceless, low-tone vowel -ⁱ that alternates with -∅ most of the time’ [translation SZ]), which he found at the end of certain words, apparently after alveolar and postalveolar consonants by preference. It may be attributed to an idio- or sociolectal variant.

² They may, however, occur as markers of stress on monosyllabic words (cf. section 2.5 below).

³ My impression was that the advanced-tongue-root variants of the vowels are preferred by younger women.

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
a	–	dāḁā ‘erect a wall’	nībā ‘heart’
a:	–	tā:mā ‘take somewhere’	–
o	–	tōnā ‘light’	jērō ‘stand’
o:	–	tō:nā ‘wilderness’	–
u	–	sūnā ‘name’	?àsū ‘man’
u:	–	sú:nā ‘hump (of cattle)’	–
e	–	jērō ‘stand’	hànè ‘together’
e:	–	?ésā ‘honey’	–
i	–	kītū ‘die’	wòsí ‘messenger’
i:	–	kì:tū ‘advise’	–

Table 2.9.: Vowels in different positions

2.3. Syllable structure

The syllables CV, CVC and CVCC are found in Yemsa. V may be long or short; vowel length is phonemic. Nevertheless, there are restrictions as to the occurrence of heavy syllables, i.e. syllables with a VC, V: or V:C coda (cf. section 2.3.1 below), and of CVCC syllables.

Table 2.10 illustrates the possible syllable structures with examples. The CV syllable structure is by far the most frequent (82 % in the database of Schaumberger and Schaumberger (2001:11)). Most stems contain two syllables. Stems with four syllables are very rare and occur only in loan words; more syllables may occur in inflected words, especially verbs with many suffixes. More than one CVC syllable in a stem is also rare.

2.3.1. Restrictions

The onset of a syllable must be C. Word-medially, some consonants that are not possible at the beginning of a word are found at the onset of a syllable, e.g. σ [ɲ], as in /hà.ɲā/ ‘donkey’ or σ [r], as in /kà.r’à/ ‘cut’.

The nucleus must be V, which can be long or short. There are some restrictions concerning the occurrence of long vowels. However, they depend on the morpheme or word, not on the syllable (cf. section 2.2 above).

The coda may be empty or consist of C or CC. In case of CC, the penultimate consonant must be an approximant, i.e. either /w/ or /j/. It seems that a CC coda can only be situated word-finally. Thus, the maximum number of adjacent consonants is two: either as a CC coda or between adjacent syllables.

2. Phonology

CV	CV	/dū/	‘sit’
	CV.CV	/dì.gō/	‘fear’
		/ʔé:.tó/	‘lion (m.)’
	CV.CV.CV	/bì.rá.tō/	‘go around’
		/kà.ḡě:.lō/	‘Monday’ (loan)
CVC	CVC	/dén/	‘up, above’
		/kè:z/	‘three’
	CVC.CV	/dùg.nō/	‘corpse’
		/kà:ʔ.nō/	‘bow’
	CV.CVC	/ʔò.tùm/	‘rich (m.)’
		/nà:.fùn/	‘seven’
		/ʔà.tǽ:ʔ/	‘four’
	CVC.CVC	/mèt.tăn/	‘sick person (m.)’
	CVC.CV.CV	/ʔár.mé.tā/	‘butterfly’
		/kè:f.tà.nā/	‘love’
	CV.CVC.CV	/jī.lāl.lō/	‘swing’
	CV.CV.CVC	/nà.ḡì.rìn/	‘eight’
	CVC.CVC.CV	/fìn.fil.lō/	kind of game
CVCC	CV.CVC.CVC	/kù.r’är.fān/	‘fortnight’ (loan)
	CV.CVC.CV.CV	/tà.ràb.bè:.zā/	‘table’ (loan)
CVCC	CVCC	/kàwn/	‘short (m.)’

Table 2.10.: Syllable structure

Consonant clusters and consonant gemination

Aside from clusters containing approximants which occur as a coda, clusters of two consonants may occur at the syllable boundary. It is at the syllable boundary that marked contacts are found, which entails that the sonority of the second consonant, i.e. the syllable onset, is higher than the one of the first one, i.e. the coda of the preceding syllable. This is the case, for example, in /zà**k.n**ō/ ‘elephant’.

Geminated consonants are treated like consonant clusters: The first consonant forms the coda of a syllable and the second forms the onset of the next syllable, i.e. /jī.lā**l.l**ō/ ‘swing’.⁴ Geminated consonants in stems are rare; more often, they occur as the outcome of a morphological process, e.g. the formation of the general converb (e.g. /tā:m.mā/ from /tā:mā/ ‘take somewhere’, cf. section 8.2). However, they are regularly found in loan words, even after long vowels, where they do not occur in non-borrowed word stems, e.g. /ʔè:**b.b**ī.sū/ ‘bless’.

The glottal and glottalised consonants /ʔ/, /ʔ̣/, /tʰ/, /rʰ/, /sʰ/, /tʃʰ/, /kʰ/, are never geminated.

2.4. Morphophonemics

In this section, some morphophonemic rules are discussed. They are not abundant in Yemsa and may be divided into two groups: On the one hand, there are optional rules, where the original pronunciation is retained in careful speech, and on the other, obligatory rules, which always apply and may be of diachronic nature. The latter especially apply in the formation of the general converb of a-class verbs and the passive and causative derivations.

2.4.1. Assimilation

Consonant assimilation is progressive where a fricative is the first element (and not the second). It is regressive in all other instances. Assimilation is most often total in nature, and affects consonants of the same place of articulation in most cases. There are two instances of distal assimilation: glottalisation assimilation triggered by /kʰ/ on the one hand, and vowel harmony on the other. All other instances of assimilation occur at the morpheme boundary between two suffixes or a stem and a suffix.

Partial assimilation of /n/ to /ŋ/ before /w/

Before a suffix that starts with /w/, a word-final /n/ is velarised to /ŋ/. An example is /bī:ŋ-wā/ ‘I saw’, where the 1s simple verb form is followed by the address suffix -wā.

⁴ Consonant gemination may additionally occur as a marker of stress on one-syllable words, cf. section 2.5 below.

2. Phonology

Total assimilation of /n/ to preceding /s/

After /s/ (typically the definite suffix -s) the first /n/ of a following suffix becomes /s/.

Examples:

	Indefinite	Definite
Accusative	-/nō(n)/ or -/nī(n)/	-/sō(n)/ or -/sī(n)/
Similative	-/nē/	-/sē/
Comitative	-/néen/	-/(s)séen/
Coordinative	-/nā(wā)/ or -/nē(wā)/	-/(s)sā(wā)/ or -/(s)sē(wā)/

The length of /s/ is that of one consonant in the case of the accusative and the similative. Sometimes, it occurs geminated in the case of the comitative and coordinative. If not, the preceding vowel is lengthened, which is also an effect of definite marking (cf. section 3.7 below).

Total assimilation of /n/ to preceding /z/

/n/ at the beginning of a suffix may become /z/ after /z/, as in /fàz-zì/ ‘of the horse’, with the genitive suffix -nì after the root of fàzà ‘horse’.

Total assimilation of /b/ to preceding /f/

/b/ at the beginning of a suffix is assimilated to a preceding /f/, as in /ʔă:ffā/ ‘his eye’, where the possessive suffix -bā is added to the root of āfā ‘eye’.

Total assimilation of /r/ to following alveolar consonants

Word-final /r/ is assimilated to a consonant of the same place of articulation at the beginning of a suffix. Examples:

Genitive	/bār/ + /sā/	→	/bāsā/	‘his’
Comitative	/bār/ + /nĕ:n/	→	/bānnĕ:n/	‘with her’
Similative	/ʔím/ + /nīr/ + /nē/	→	/ʔimnīnnē/	‘like what we gave’
Coordinative	/bār/ + /nāwā/	→	/bānnāwā/	‘he and’
Plural	/gìr/ + /sé/ + /fē/	→	/gìssĕfé/	‘...they (pol.) entered’
Focus	/bār/ + /tū/	→	/bāttū/	‘HE’

In all examples except the first, double consonant length is maintained.

Total assimilation of alveolar consonants to following /s/

Before a suffix that starts with /s/, consonants of the same place of articulation are assimilated totally. An instance of this is /màs-sé/ ‘you ate?’, where the person suffix

-*t* of *mă̄t* ‘you ate’ assimilates to the interrogative address suffix -*sé*.

More frequently, however, this assimilation is found when the causative suffix -*s* is added to a verb root, as in the following examples:

Basic	Causative	
/ʔàr-ū/	/ʔàs-sū/	‘learn, know’ - ‘teach, inform’
/kùt-ū/	/kùs-sū/	‘walk’ - ‘let walk’
/wòst-ō/	/wòss-ū/	‘work’ - ‘make work’

In the last example /wòss-ū/ consonant length is only double in spite of the fact that -*s* is added as a suffix to two existing consonants, which would lead to the insertion of an epenthetic vowel (cf. section 2.4.4 below). Perhaps the reason for /t/ to drop is that *wòstō* ‘work’ is itself a passive derivation of *wòsū* ‘send’, and -*s* is in fact added to that verb, even though, semantically, it is a causative of ‘work’, not ‘send’.

Assimilation in voicedness to following unvoiced consonants

Stem-final /z/ loses its voicedness before a suffix that starts with /s/. This is the case in the ordinal numeral /kè:s-sā/ ‘third’, where the suffix -*sā* is added to the cardinal numeral *kèez* ‘three’.

In passive formation, we find this change regularly before the passive suffix -*t*. Some examples are:

Basic	Passive	
/fēz-ū/	/fēs-tō/	‘split’ - ‘be split’ (wood)
/gàag-à/	/gàak-tō/	‘fix’ - ‘be fixed’ ⁵

Total assimilation of /j/ to following /t/

The assimilation of /j/ to /t/ of the next suffix was found in the word /mù-nót-tī-mātó/ ‘lest you (pl) eat’. /j/ at the end of the negative suffix -*nōy* assimilates to /t/ at the beginning of the person suffix -*tī*.

Glottalisation assimilation triggered by /k’/

If a word contains /k’/ all other voiceless stops are glottalised. This becomes evident if there are several possibilities of pronunciation with and without glottalisation, as in /kùbgū/ vs. /k’ùp’k’ū/ ‘save’. Other lexemes show that there is never an unglottalised voiceless stop in the same word as /k’/, e.g. /k’ùrt’ūmmī/ ‘fish’, /nàp’k’ā/ ‘mat (pol.)’ or /ʔàt’k’ā/ ‘male’.

⁵ The exact meaning of this verb is ‘to put something over something else and fix it’. This applies for instance to putting a ring on a finger, a hood over the head or to fixing the round center-piece of the roof on the central pole when building a traditional house.

2. Phonology

Total assimilation of /r/ to the preceding consonant occurring only in the formation of the general converb

A general converb is formed by adding the converb suffix *-r* and a gender suffix to a verb stem in the realis (cf. 8.2). However, in the *a*-class, there is no stem vowel and the last root consonant is geminated instead. This morphological process is probably historically a total assimilation of the converb suffix *-r* to the preceding last root consonant:

Root + CV suffix		General converb	
/tók/- + /rà/	→	/tók k -à/	‘plant’
/káʦ/- + /rà/	→	/káʦ ʦ -à/	‘wrap’
/tà:m/- + /rē/	→	/tà: mm -ē/	‘take somewhere’

Total assimilation of /f/ to following /k/ occurring only in causative formation

Before the causative suffix *-k* /f/ is assimilated to /k/, as in /gà**k**-kū/ ‘let go’ from the adjective /gàfō/ ‘stray, loose’.

Partial assimilation of /k/ to preceding voiced consonants occurring only in causative formation

This process occurs when a causative suffix *-k* is added to a verb root. If the verb root ends in a voiced consonant (except /r/), /k/ becomes /g/, as in /kàb-**g**ū/ ‘raise’ from /kàb-ū/ ‘rise’.

Total assimilation of /s/ to preceding /ʦ/ occurring only in causative formation

When the last consonant of the root is /ʦ/ the initial /s/ of the causative suffix *-s* assimilates to it, cf. /dìʦ-ū/ ‘bring up’ from /dìʦ-à/ ‘grow’.

Total assimilation or change of /r'/ to /t/ occurring only in passive and causative formation

When the last consonant of the root is /r'/ it is totally assimilated to the /t/ of the passive suffix, and /t/ drops, cf. /kàt-ō/ ‘be cut’ from /kàr'-à/ ‘cut’.

In causative formation, /r'/ changes to /t/ as well, though one cannot speak of assimilation in such a case because the causative suffix is *-s*. An example is /kàt-ū/ ‘have cut’ from /kàr'-à/ ‘cut’.

Since the same change occurs in the passive and in the causative, the two forms only differ in the stem vowel, which is *-o* in the passive and *-u* in the causative.

Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is restricted to two groups of person markers: the imperfective and the interrogative future person suffixes. It operates in the first and second persons. The first vowel of the person suffix, either /e/ or /a/, assimilates to the second one (either /i/ or /a/); the regressive assimilation is partial if the second vowel is /i/ and total if the second vowel is /a/. Thus, we have for instance *-â-nâ* (IPFV) and *-nk-â-tâ* (FUTq) in the first person singular and *-ê-nî* (IPFV) and *-nk-ê-nî* (FUTq) in the first person plural.

2.4.2. Dissimilation

Dissimilation of /r'/ to /ʔ/ before alveolar consonants

Before alveolar consonants, /r'/ changes to /ʔ/. That is to say, its alveolar component is lost but the glottal component is retained. We find this process in some inflections of the verb *târ'â* 'eat (pol.)':

Simple 2sPOL	/târ'/ + /nî/	→	/tâʔnî/	'you (pol.) ate'
simple 3sPOL	/târ'/ + /tē/	→	/tâʔtē/	'he (pol.) ate'
PROG 3sPOL	/târ'/ + /dí/ + /fē/	→	/tâʔdīfē/	'he (pol.) is eating'
IPFV 3pPOL	/târ'/ + /sé/ + /fē/	→	/tâʔsēfē/	'they (pol.) eat'

2.4.3. Deletion

Deletion of /i/ after /n/ at the right word boundary

An /i/ at the end of a word after /n/ may be deleted in fast speech, especially in the genitive construction with the genitive suffix *-ni*:

Àsùnī wàagōnī chōwā 'the matter of man trade' can be pronounced as
/ʔàsũn wà:gòn tʃōwā/

The floating tone from the lost vowel influences the tone of the preceding syllable.

2.4.4. Epenthesis

Epenthesis is quite frequent in Yemsa. The epenthetic vowels /i/ or /u/ are inserted to prevent inappropriate consonant clusters. The choice between the two depends on the quality (front/back) of the neighbouring vowels or on the place of articulation of neighbouring consonants. The tone of epenthetic vowels is taken from the preceding or following syllable. For lack of in-depth study, I am unable to be more precise at the moment.

2. Phonology

As an example, consider /kàwũn-sũ/ ‘shorten’, a verb that is derived from /kàwn(à)/ ‘short’. The causative suffix -sũ is added to *kàwn* and an epenthetic /u/ is inserted after the first consonant of the cluster.

Equally, we find the form /kásís-sí-rē/, which is a converb of the verb *kássũ* ‘bake’ with a causative suffix. The cluster /ss-s/ is divided by an epenthetic /i/ after the first /s/. From these two examples, we can gather that it is preferred to have the cluster of two consonants at the end of the stem, thus the pattern CV.CVC.CV- is preferred to CVC.CV.CV- (which would be */kàwnũ-sũ/ and */kássí-sí-rē/).

An example from the nominal domain that follows the same principles is /tèrũm-bà/ ‘her tongue’, where the possessive suffix -bà is added to the root *tèrm-* from *tèrmā*⁶. The place where /u/ is inserted again shows that the CVC.CV.CV-pattern is preferred.

In /ʔimĩt-ũwè/ ‘you (f.) gave’ the emphasis suffix -wè needs an epenthetic /u/ before it since the cluster /tw/ is not allowed.

In /fũʔi-tō/ ‘remain’ an epenthetic /i/ is inserted between the glottal stop and /t/ of the passive suffix. This happens regularly between a glottal stop and a following obstruent.

2.4.5. Metathesis

Metathesis of /t/ and a preceding affricate occurring only in passive formation

When the last consonant of the root is an affricate it is geminated; when it is voiced it becomes unvoiced and /t/ drops, cf. /ʔítʃf-ō/ ‘be hit’ from /ʔítʃf-ā/ ‘hit’ and /ʔòʃf-ō/ ‘be fenced in’ from /ʔòʃf-ā/ ‘fence in’. This process seems to involve a metathesis in that the /t/ of the suffix is placed before the last consonant of the root.

Metathesis and change of /ʔ/ before /s/ and /t/ occurring only in passive and causative formation

When the last consonant of the root is /ʔ/ it is changed to /tʃ/ both in the passive and in the causative. Examples are /bũ:tʃf-ō/ ‘be cut (grass)’ from /bũ:ʔ-ā/ ‘cut grass’ in the passive and /mìtʃf-ũ/ ‘make laugh’ from /mìʔ-à/ ‘laugh’ in the causative.

As this is again the same change as in the passive the causative stem differs from the passive one in its stem vowel only.

A tentative explanation for this morphophonological process can be sketched as follows: A metathesis of root-final /ʔ/ and suffix-initial /s/ or /t/ would result in an ejective /s’/ or /t’/, which was changed to an affricate, possibly because /s’/ and /t’/ were not in the phonetic inventory at a certain stage of the language.

⁶ With most a-class nouns, the stem-final vowel is deleted when a possessive or genitive suffix is added.

This change does not occur regularly. In *dò'-tō* 'have diarrhea', *shō'-tō* 'stand up' and *kò'-sū* 'finish', for instance, the glottal stop remains before the suffix *-t* or *-s* without causing morphophonological processes other than epenthesis (cf. above). The reason for this is not clear but it may be found in historical developments.

2.5. Stress

I am unable to provide a detailed description of stress in Yemsa. Lamberti (1993:59f) states that stress is primarily on one of the syllables of the stem, though it can be on the suffix if it carries high tone. However, he does not state how stress is manifested.

Lamberti (1993) is basically right. On two-syllable words with the same tone on both syllables the first syllable, i.e. the root, is pronounced with more power. If an ensuing syllable, i.e. the stem vowel or a suffix, carries a higher tone than the root, this gives the impression of stress, and indeed, such a syllable is pronounced with more power than a stem vowel syllable with a lower tone. Nevertheless, this can be a natural effect of the high tone.

Two further observations can be made.

First, on one-syllable words with the CV syllable pattern, the vowel is regularly lengthened as a result of stress. Thus, e.g. /dà/ 'ground, country' and /fō/ 'life, wealth' are pronounced [da:] and [fo:] respectively. Pronouns like *ně* 'you' or *nì* 'you (pol.)' may be pronounced with a long or short vowel, depending on the emphasis with which they are used. If a suffix is added to such a one-syllable CV word, the vowel is also lengthened: [nè:-kī] 'to you', [dà:-k] 'on the ground', [fà:-nì] 'we live', etc.

The second observation concerns two-syllable suffixes with low tone like *-fènì* (IPFV 1p/2POL) or *-bèsì* (3pPOSS). There, the low tone of the first syllable is slightly higher than the one of the last syllable, but not as high as a preceding mid. This behaviour is considered as another, tonal, manifestation of stress.

2.6. Tone

Yemsa is characterised by a tonal system with three level tones: low, mid and high. In addition there is a rising tone, depending on the neighbouring tones realised as low-high or mid-high. As will be shown below, the mid tone can be analysed as a

2. Phonology

downstepped high in all its occurrences in lexical roots. However, in many suffixes it would not be possible to explain it without the random assumption of floating tones. Phonetically, downstepped high tones cannot be distinguished from mid tones. Thus, the mid tone is still distinguished both in phonological transcription and in the grammatical description—as it is in the official orthography.

In the present work, an autosegmental representation is used to describe tonal behaviour, as promoted by Goldsmith (1990). Tone is assumed to be underlyingly present on a separate, tonal tier and to be subsequently associated with the tone-bearing unit (TBU), which is the syllable in Yemsa. The association of tone with the TBU underlies several rules that come into effect during word formation processes. A tone can be associated with more than one TBU, just as a single TBU can be associated with more than one tone, producing a contour tone.

For assimilation processes and for downstep processes operating leftwards it turned out to be convenient to use Snider's (1999) Register Tier Theory (RTT) with a two-tier representation where each tone is made up of a tone on the tonal tier (H or L) and a tone on the register tier (h or l). Both are associated with a tonal root node situated on the tonal root node tier and associated with the tone-bearing unit. Thus, the hypothetical word *bóbò* with a high-low tonal melody would be represented like this:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{cc}
 \begin{array}{c} h \\ \text{H/} \\ \text{V} \\ \cdot \\ | \end{array} & \begin{array}{c} l \\ \text{L/} \\ \text{V} \\ \cdot \\ | \end{array} \\
 \text{b} & \text{o}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \quad (2.1) \quad \text{b} \text{ o } \text{ b } \text{ o}$$

The model assumes that the register tones (h, l) are specified first. Then, if no other process intervenes, they are assigned corresponding tones (H, L), so that a high tone has a register tone h and a tone H whereas a low tone is made up of a register tone l and a tone L. Of course, for simple high-low melodies, the two-tier analysis is not necessary. However, where tones spread and influence each other in ways that cannot be accounted for easily, RTT provides an explanation in that it allows register and other tones to spread independently to other TRNs, as well as TRNs to spread to other tone-bearing units. Both are processes that regularly occur in Yemsa and will be described in section 2.6.3 below.

2.6.1. Minimal pairs

The minimal pairs that were found in the database of over 1200 entries are shown in table 2.11. The words listed are all nouns, since the citation form of verbs is the verbal noun. Words with derivational morphemes other than those of feminine noun formation⁷ were excluded in order to minimise the influence of grammatical tone and

⁷ All nouns except those that denote male natural gender are feminine.

morphology. This means that pairs such as /ʔàsū/ – /ʔàsù/ ‘wife, person’ – ‘man’ (grammatical gender tone), /tá:tó/ – /tà:tò/ ‘(male) prisoner’ – ‘king’ (grammatical gender tone and passive derivation) or /kátū/ – /kàtū/ ‘distribute’ – ‘let cut’ (causative derivation) are missing. Further minimal pairs would include /ʔàj/ – /ʔāj/ ‘brother’ – ‘where?’ with a noun and an interrogative particle, and the gender-marked pronouns /bàr/ – /bār/ ‘she’ – ‘he’.

/bōʔā/	‘cabbage’
/bōʔà/	‘kidnap’ (VN)
/bōgā/	‘tear down (house)’ (VN)
/bōgà/	‘top’
/dà:mò/	‘kiss’
/dǎ:mō/	‘big clay gourd’
/hà:rō/	‘stick’
/há:rō/	‘be angry’ (VN)
/kālā/	‘horn’
/kàlà/	‘drive’ (VN)
/kār’ā/	‘reach’ (VN)
/kār’à/	‘cut’ (VN)
/kātā/	‘be cooked’ (VN)
/kàtā/	‘belly’
/kàwō/	‘salt’
/kàwò/	‘dry season’
/kíʔā/	‘get burned (food item)’ (VN)
/kìʔà/	‘thresh, pound’ (VN)
/kìtā/	‘swell (VN)’
/kítā/	‘haul water’ (VN)
/kōdā/	‘work team’
/kòdā/	‘chair’
/kōrō/	‘investigation’
/kòrō/	‘roasted grain’
/kóʔā/	‘break <i>k’och’o</i> (pol.)’ (VN)
/kòʔà/	‘come to an end’ (VN)
/kōyā/	‘chew, crunch’ (VN)
/kòyà/	‘say yes’ (VN)
/nāwō/	startle (VN)
/nàwō/	accompany (VN)
/sāwā/	‘wall’
/sàwà/	‘good smell’
/tā:ma/	‘spleen’
/tā:mà/	‘take somewhere’ (VN)

2. Phonology

/wǎ:fǎ/	‘scrape out the ensete pith’ (VN)
/wà:fà/	‘big pitcher’
/wōlū/	‘return’ (VN)
/wòlū/	‘part of death ceremony’
/zǎtā/	‘be kindred’ (VN)
/zàtā/	‘pull’ (VN)
/zāwā/	‘snake’
/zàwà/	‘hot spring’

Table 2.11.: *Minimal pairs*

The character of the minimal pairs is a first indication that we are basically dealing with a two-tone system in Yemsa: triplets are absent, and mid tone never contrasts with high. It will be shown that mid is a variant of H in specific environments.

With the exception of the pairs /tǎ:mā/ - /tǎ:mà/ ‘spleen’ - ‘take somewhere’, /kālā/ - /kàlā/ ‘horn’ - ‘drive’ and /kàwō/ - /kàwò/ ‘salt’ - ‘dry season’, which have a L tone on the root and differ only in the tone of the stem vowel, all pairs represent cases where the first part has a H root and the second one a L root, regardless of the different surface tone melodies.

The relatively small number of tonal minimal pairs shows that tone is not very important in the differentiation of lexemes. This is corroborated by the fact that there are quite a number of homonyms with the same melody as well, such as /gē?ā/ ‘knee’ and ‘be proud’ or /bō?ā/ ‘cabbage’ and ‘bark (of dog)’.

2.6.2. Tone patterns

There are three basic tone patterns; two for one-syllable roots (L and H) and an additional one for two-syllable roots (LH). The same tone patterns are found with nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The variation in behaviour of the H-words is regularly conditioned by the voicedness of the first and/or the second root consonant and by the length of the root vowel. The morphological verb class is also relevant.

Table 2.12 displays the number of words per tone pattern and stem vowel class, relying on the lexical corpus that contains about 1200 lexemes tested for tone⁸.

The LH tone pattern only exists with a small number of two-syllable noun and verb roots.

Three nouns with three-syllable roots were found; two of them have a surface LM tone pattern without stem vowel, one a L pattern.

⁸ Derived (i.e. passive or causative) verb stems of the o- and u-classes were counted only if they are deponents, i.e. if they do not have an underived base in the synchronic lexicon. The high number of deponents or frozen derived forms may account for the comparably high number of u-class L verbs. However, deponents also exist among the other o- and u-class verbs.

Among the adjectives, those that are clearly derived from verbs were not counted.

	Stem vowel	-a	-o	-u	-e/-i	-C
L	Nouns	133	68	18	5	5
	Verbs	61	70	95	-	-
	Adjectives	46	21	16	-	-
	Adverbs	4	3	-	7	4
H	Nouns	85	34	11	8	-
	Verbs	60	48	40	-	-
	Adjectives	28	13	13	2	-
	Adverbs	1	6	-	5	4
LH	Nouns	9	3	1	6	5
	Verbs	2	4	4	-	-
	Adjectives	-	-	-	-	-
	Adverbs	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2.12.: Tone patterns of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs

Regarding their tone patterns, nouns behave like verbs. There are also tonal processes that apply to both noun and verb roots, especially in noun formation.⁹ There are, however, additional possibilities for nouns. Whereas verbal nouns are formed by attaching either *-a*, *-o* or *-u* to the verbal root, other nouns may also end in *-e*, *-i* or a consonant. Furthermore, the tone of the stem vowel in a verbal noun is mid in the *o*- and *u*-class and low in the *a*-class. In other nouns, this is normally the case, too, but a low tone on the stem vowel may occur in the *o*- and *u*-classes in rare cases, and there are a number of *a*-class nouns that end on a mid tone. Thus, there is a greater variety of surface tone melodies in nouns than in verbal nouns, though the most frequent ones are the same.

The other word classes show the same tonal patterns essentially. In addition, a mid-low pattern is attested for ideophones, e.g. /kārāf/ ‘very fast’, which can be analysed as HL with a downstepped high on the first syllable (according to the rule LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH described under 2.6.3 below).

Numeral roots are often L, with the exception of /ʔàtʃě:tʃ/ ‘four’ and /ú:tʃ/ ‘five’.

2.6.3. Tonal processes

In word formation (stem formation and suffixation in general) we observe two basic principles: Whereas tonal root nodes (i.e. entire tones with both register and tonal features) spread to the right, l register tones spread to the left under certain conditions. Thus, as a peculiarity, downstep only operates leftwards. Furthermore, depressor effects are at work. The processes that apply across word boundaries are of a different nature; they depend on the tonal environment at word boundaries and, for a large

⁹ Adjectives tonally behave like nouns as well.

2. Phonology

part, cannot be explained by spreading rules: In some environments, tones seem to be simply replaced.

In the following sections, I describe tonal processes using Snider's (1999) RTT model for illustration. I represent mid as a H tone on a l register, regardless of whether it can be analysed as a downstepped H or not. The only exceptions are the cases where it is analysed as an upstepped low (i.e. a L tone on a h register) resulting from the processes ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID or DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, which apply across word boundaries (cf. below). Generally, I tried to keep the representation as simple as possible and use the labels Lo(w), Hi(gh) and Mid where the processes concern only tonal root nodes as wholes. Rising tone can be analysed as a low-high combination (two TRNs) throughout.

Although the aim for this description is to include all tonal processes and to explain all possible tones as they are actually heard, shortcomings are to be expected both in comprehensiveness and theoretical coherence (since, although using a theory, the present description is not theory-oriented). Especially in the section on word formation, only some example cases can be discussed due to the immense number of suffixes in Yemsa. In the following chapters, I mention the tonal processes that are at work in the cited examples wherever it is necessary to avoid confusion, but not everywhere. This is to be borne in mind when a word occurs with tones differing from its dictionary entry.¹⁰

Toneless syllables

Aside from the syllables that underlyingly carry either low, high, mid or low and high (i.e. rising) tone we need to assume syllables that are inherently toneless. They generally take over the tone of the preceding syllable. Toneless syllables are only found among suffixes; they do not form a morphological or semantic class. Thus, e.g. the plural marker -e/-o used with a-class verbs is toneless while the plural marker -sé/-só used with o/u-class verbs carries high tone. Stem vowels of nouns are in some classes toneless (cf. table 3.2 in chapter 3). Stem vowels of inflected verbs are inherently toneless.

Toneless syllables need to be assumed where we observe different spreading behaviour of the same tones in the same or similar environment. The presence of toneless syllables seems to be crucial as to the decision where tones may spread, and where they cannot. Compare the 3rd person singular forms of the simple aspect form with their corresponding verbal nouns:

3 rd person simple	Verbal noun	
<i>tók-í</i>	<i>tók-ā</i>	'plant'
<i>gìr-ì</i>	<i>gìr-ū</i>	'enter'

¹⁰ Of course, errors in the notation of tones cannot be totally excluded.

In these two cases it makes sense to assume the stem vowel as toneless in the 3rd person simple and as carrying mid tone in the verbal noun. Following this analysis, the tone of the root spreads onto the toneless stem vowel in the 3rd person simple. Otherwise, different underlying stem vowel tones would have to be assumed with different verbs.

In the following examples of the same verb forms but different lexemes, the tonal processes are more complex. Nevertheless, the straightforward analysis is to assume the stem vowel in the 3rd person simple to be inherently toneless:

3 rd person simple	Verbal noun	
<i>māk-é</i>	<i>māk-ō</i>	‘tell’

Here, the low-high melody is spread over two syllables in the 3rd person simple. By contrast, since the stem vowel carries a tone in the verbal noun, the low-high melody is realised on the root syllable alone, resulting in a rising contour tone.¹¹

3 rd person simple	Verbal noun	
<i>shól-é</i>	<i>shōl-ō</i>	‘want’

In this example finally, a downstep is present in the root syllable of the verbal noun that does not take effect in the 3rd person simple (here: *shól-* vs. *shōl-*; see further below in this section). It is analysed as being triggered by a root-final depressor consonant and by the mid tone of the stem vowel. Since the stem vowel does not carry an inherent tone in the 3rd person simple the high tone of the root syllable is not downstepped to mid but spreads onto the stem vowel instead.

In a similar manner, the stem vowel of all 3rd person simple verb forms can be analysed as toneless. This is the most straightforward explanation of the tonal behaviour of the 3rd person simple verb forms, especially compared with the verbal noun forms, which are as simple morphologically but more complex tonally. In the verbal noun, the stem vowel has been found to generally carry mid tone (but no tone with some verbs of the a-class, e.g. *hàmà* ‘go’).¹²

On other suffixes, toneless syllables were assumed where this was the most straightforward possibility, comparing instances of the same suffix in diverse morphological and tonal environments.

Processes in word formation

The tonal processes in word formation are prior to processes that apply across word boundaries. They apply to all kinds of suffixation processes, including stem formation from roots and stem vowels.

They are ordered in the following way:

¹¹ For an analysis of the low tone as a depressor tone, see further below in this section.

¹² The formation of the verbal noun is treated in section 4.2.

2. Phonology

RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE on a toneless syllable

> LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH

> EMERGENCE OF LOW/

RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE on a tone-bearing syllable

> SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH

Thereby, LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH blocks EMERGENCE OF LOW and RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE on the same syllable.

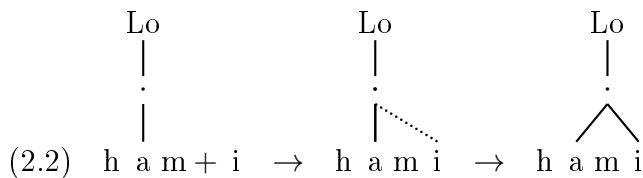
As pointed out in section 2.6.2 above, nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs belong either to the L, H or LH tonal classes. With H roots, the basic tone pattern undergoes considerably more changes than with L roots. This is due to depressor effects of certain root consonants that lead to downstepped H or to the insertion of a low tone—both are effects that do not affect L tone.

Suffixes may carry a tone, or be preceded by a floating tone, or be inherently toneless.

Rightward spread of tone A complete tone (or ‘tonal root node’ in Snider’s (1999) terminology) is able to spread to the right—never to the left!—if there are syllables with no inherent tone following it. Any tone may spread onto a toneless syllable; low tone may also spread onto a syllable with a high or mid tone, which results in a rising contour tone. The two types of rightward spread (namely, onto toneless vs. onto tone-bearing syllables) have to be treated apart since they occupy different places in rule ordering (cf. above).

First, spreading onto toneless syllables is considered. This occurs for example in the formation of the 3rd person singular of the simple verb form, where the stem vowel has no inherent tone:

hàmì ‘(s)he went’



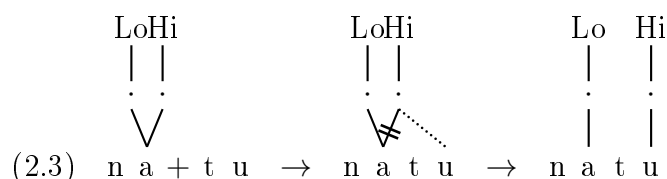
Furthermore, it applies in the formation of masculine nouns, of feminine a-class nouns and in the 3rd person singular of the imperfective. In all these cases, the toneless syllable is the stem vowel, which is attached to the root. Rightward spread of a TRN onto a stem vowel applies before an eventual downstep of the stem vowel tone, as shown in ex. (2.13) below.

If there are two root syllables, the tone of the second one spreads onto the toneless stem vowel syllable. Whether the first tone is able to spread or not depends on its nature: if it emerged from a depressor effect of a voiced consonant (cf. EMERGENCE

OF LOW as in ex. (2.15)), it does not spread beyond the first syllable—which means that the depressor effect only applies after the tone spread. On the other hand, if it is part of the LH tone pattern of the word in question, it spreads onto the second syllable. Compare the 3rd person simple forms *bùkúchí* ‘he/she flattened the ground’ (H verb; low due to voiced first consonant) and *gàlâtté* ‘he/she thanked’ (LH verb).

Spreading onto toneless syllables also applies to a number of suffixation and cliticisation processes, e.g. the focus enclitic =*tu* attached to nouns:

nâ=tú ‘boy (foc.)’

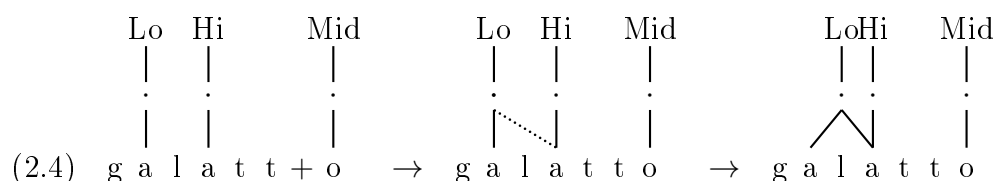


In the verbal domain, the process applies when the toneless plural suffix *-e/-o* is attached to a verbal root of the a-class, as e.g. in *hâm-ê* ‘they went’ or *sháab-é-fē* ‘they (m) milk’. Another example is the attachment of the interrogative suffix *-o*: in *sòokit-ó?* ‘did you light?’ it takes over the high part of the rising tone on the last syllable of *sòokit* ‘you lit’.

Now let us consider the cases where a low tone spreads onto a syllable that carries high or mid tone. This may only occur if that syllable is not already downstepped by LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH, as illustrated in ex. (2.14) below.

In two-syllable LH roots the initial L spreads to the second syllable even if that syllable is already linked to the following H and no toneless syllable follows. There are two possibilities, depending on whether the second root syllable is open or closed¹³: If it is closed, a rising tone is created on the syllable. If it is open, the H tone is delinked.

The verbal noun *gàlâttō* ‘thanking’ may serve as an example for the first possibility with a closed second syllable.

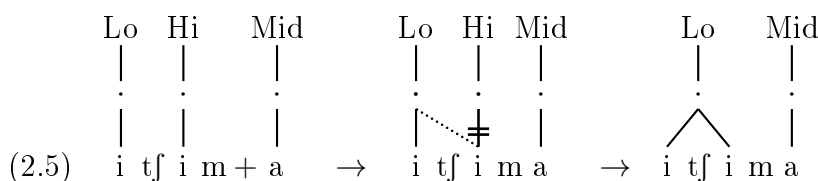


For the delinking of H with LH verbs that have an open second root syllable consider the following example:

¹³ This is the only place where the distinction between closed and open syllables is relevant in the tonology of Yemsa.

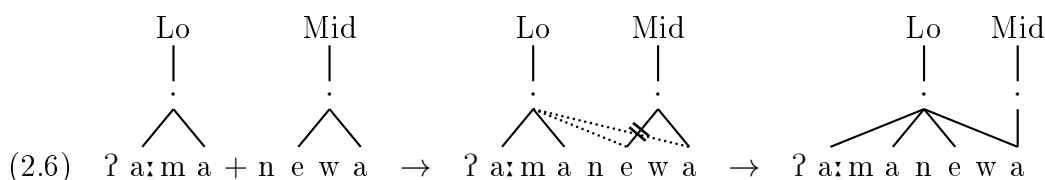
2. Phonology

ìchìmā ‘drying (VN)’



A low tone may also spread rightwards onto a suffix with two mid-tone syllables, resulting in a rising tone on the last syllable. Examples are found with the coordinative case suffix (ex. (2.6)):

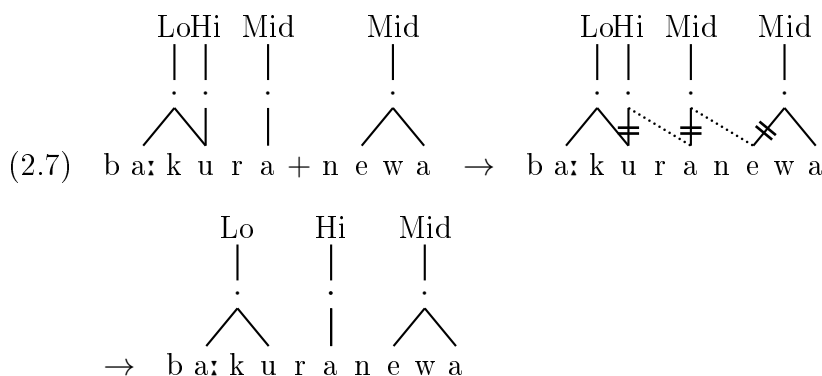
àamà-nēwǎ ‘and (a) mountain(s)’



As a subsequent process, the resulting low-mid rising tone on the last syllable is changed to low-high.

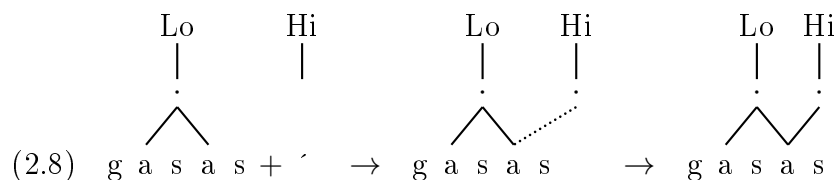
If the vowel preceding the suffix *-nēwā* is mid, it merges with the mid tone of the suffix and the other stem tones spread to the right:

bàakùrá-nēwā ‘and (a) star(s)’



A similar process applies when a suffix containing a high tone is added to a two-syllable noun, adjective or verb that ends on a low tone. Then, both the low and the high tone are associated with the last syllable, whereby a rising tone is created, as in the masculine form *gàsǎs* ‘sensible’. This does not happen to three-syllable words such as *nífàs-ó* ‘crazy’, where the low tone is associated with the first two syllables only. It appears that the low tone has the tendency to spread to the right onto a second—but not a third—syllable even if that syllable is already associated with a high tone. This process is illustrated here:

gàsās ‘sensible (m.)’



The same process is observed in the 1st and 2nd person singular of the simple aspect form, where -*n* or -*t* is added to a stem, e.g. *sòokīt* ‘you lit’.¹⁴ Another example concerns the suffixation of the sequential suffix -*fāa* to a root in the formation of the conditional: *sòok-fāa-nānē* ‘if I/he/she light(s)’. Generally, a low tone from a verb root may spread to a following syllable if the stem vowel following the root is elided, which is the case in a-class verbs such as *sòokā* ‘light’ in the above example.¹⁵

The fact that there are no falling tones in Yemsa is explained by the special behaviour of high tones: they do not have the tendency to spread onto syllables that carry a low tone.

Depressor rules Depressor effects of consonants can be captured by two rules: LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH and EMERGENCE OF LOW. These rules are ordered: LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH applies before EMERGENCE OF LOW. This means that depressor effects operate from right to left, as LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH depends on the nature of the last root consonant and EMERGENCE OF LOW depends on the nature of the first root consonant.

The consonants that have depressor effects are the voiced consonants including the nasals, the liquids and the approximants, plus /p’/, /r’/ and, with a few exceptions, the glottal stop /ʔ/¹⁶.

Leftward downstep of high In Yemsa, mid tones either occur as an inherent property of suffixes or as a result of LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH. This process operates both in stems and in suffixes, but for most suffixes with mid tone there is no straightforward evidence that their mid is a downstepped high, so they are left unanalysed for the time being.

¹⁴ For the formation of this verb form see section 7.2.2.

¹⁵ With verbs of other classes a low root tone only spreads onto the stem vowel: *dùud-ê-fāa-nānē* ‘if I/he/she try/tries’. However, under certain conditions the stem vowel may also be elided in other verb classes, as e.g. in the o-class verb *wāag-sò-nī* ‘you (pl pol) bought/sold’. In such cases the low root tone replaces the following tone totally if its syllable is short: the underlying tone of the plural suffix -*só* is high.

¹⁶ As for the effect of the glottal stop more research is needed. Compare *wī’ā* ‘weave’ with a downstepped first syllable according to LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH discussed below, and *kí’ā* ‘get burned’, where the glottal stop does not trigger the downstep of the first syllable.

2. Phonology

Since LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH is dependent on the nature of the final consonant of the syllable to be downstepped, the process is subsumed under the depressor rules, although consonant quality is not its only trigger. In adverbs and demonstratives, which are one-syllable words that consist of a bare root, the process is best described as leftward spread of a *l* register feature that is attached to the last root consonant, if it is one of the depressor consonants:

hāng ‘here’¹⁷

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \begin{array}{c} h \quad l \\ H/ \quad / \\ \cdot \quad \cdot \\ | \quad | \\ h \quad a \quad \eta \end{array} & \rightarrow & \begin{array}{c} h \quad l \\ H/ \quad / \\ \cdot \quad \cdot \\ | \quad \neq \\ h \quad a \quad \eta \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} l \\ H/ \\ \cdot \\ | \\ h \quad a \quad \eta \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \quad (2.9)$$

As a second example compare the nominalised simple plural forms of the 3rd person masculine and feminine: *dùudè-sē-r* ‘they (f.) try’, *dùudè-sé-r* ‘they (m.) try’. In the masculine form the nominaliser is analysed as being preceded by a rising tone.¹⁸ The plural suffix *-sé* preceding the nominaliser *-r* is downstepped only in the feminine, thus a feminine gender tone $\bar{\cdot}$ is assumed before the nominaliser *-r*.¹⁹ Note that there is no depressor consonant involved in the process here since the affected syllable is open. Thus, contrasting the preceding example of *hāng* ‘here’, the *l* register feature that spreads leftwards is analysed as being the feature of the suffix following the affected syllable.

dùudè-sē-r ‘they (f.) try’

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \begin{array}{c} l \\ L/ \\ \cdot \\ \wedge \\ d \quad u: \quad d \quad e \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} h \quad l \\ H/ \quad H/ \\ \cdot \quad \cdot \\ | \quad | \\ s \quad e \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \bar{\cdot} \\ r \end{array} & \rightarrow & \begin{array}{c} l \\ L/ \\ \cdot \\ \wedge \\ d \quad u: \quad d \quad e \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} h \quad l \\ H/ \quad H/ \\ \cdot \quad \cdot \\ | \quad | \\ s \quad e \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \bar{\cdot} \\ r \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} l \quad H \\ L \quad \wedge \quad H \\ \cdot \quad \cdot \\ \wedge \quad | \\ d \quad u: \quad d \quad e \quad s \quad e \quad r \end{array}
 \end{array}
 \quad (2.10)$$

The suffixes that trigger LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH carry either low or mid tone; besides stem vowels they include all suffixes that contain the IPFV marker *-f* except the forms of the 3rd person masculine and polite. In addition, the interrogative future,

¹⁷ Please note that in this and all following examples of LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH only the register feature *h* is delinked from the high tone, not the tonal feature *H*. The graphical representation may not be sufficiently clear.

¹⁸ Analogous to the 3rd person masculine of the nominalised future *-nĩr*, see ex. (2.18) below.

¹⁹ When the $\bar{\cdot}$ -*r* suffix is attached after an inherently toneless syllable, e.g. a stem vowel, its mid tone as a whole (the TRN) attaches to the toneless syllable, not only the register *l* that produces the downstep. An indication of this is e.g. *dùudēr* ‘she tries’, where otherwise the low tone of the root would spread to the stem vowel syllable. In the masculine form *dùudēr* ‘he tries’ the rising masculine gender tone is linked to the stem vowel syllable.

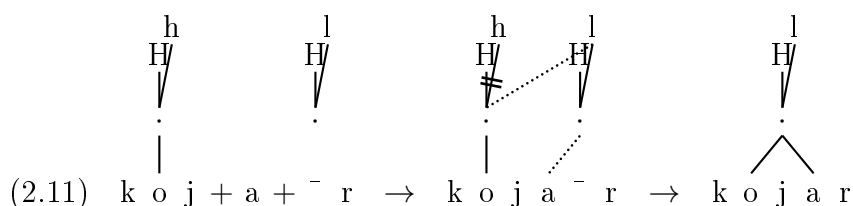
the counterfactual obligative, the feminine general, manner and iterative converbs and certain gender or person forms of nearly all other verb paradigms have the same effect. So far, I have not been able to determine all the factors that trigger LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH, but have had to limit myself to observations and basic principles. In many cases, floating tones would have to be assumed because the process cannot be traced back to other conditions.

The most typical instances of LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH are cases where a root syllable is affected. Compare e.g. *kóyār* ‘he chews’, *kōyār* ‘she chews’, with the same nominalising suffix as above. The conditions required for LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH to apply to the root syllable are:

- a short, H root syllable and
- a root-final depressor consonant, followed by a mid or low tone.

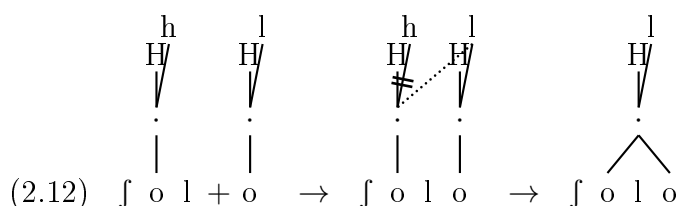
Thus, unlike in *kōyār* ‘she chews’, in *úshār* ‘she drinks’ the first syllable is not downstepped because it is followed by the voiceless consonant /ʃ/.

kōyār ‘she chews’



Root syllables affected by LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH are characteristic in the formation of feminine nouns. Here, the process is exemplified by a verbal noun:

shōlō ‘wanting (VN)’



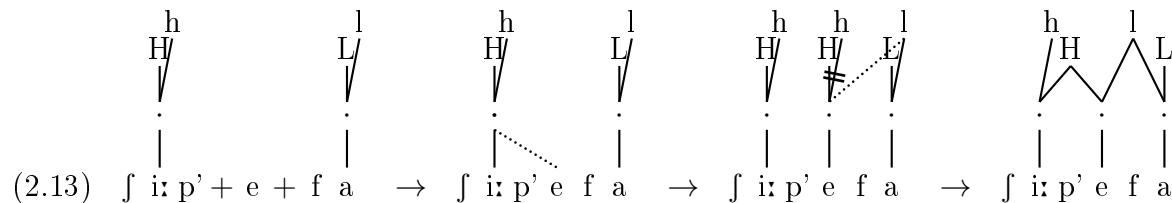
In the next example LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH applies with the 3rd person feminine of the IPFV. Since the root vowel is long²⁰, the downstep only affects the syllable preceding the IPFV suffix, which is the stem vowel syllable. First, the high tone of the root spreads to the right onto the stem vowel according to the rule RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE, then LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH applies, whereby the

²⁰I recall that /p'/ counts as depressor consonant. Thus, it is not the nature of the second root consonant /p'/ that blocks the application of the downstep on the root syllable, but the length of the root vowel.

2. Phonology

l register feature of the suffix spreads leftwards:

shíip'ēfà 'she begs'



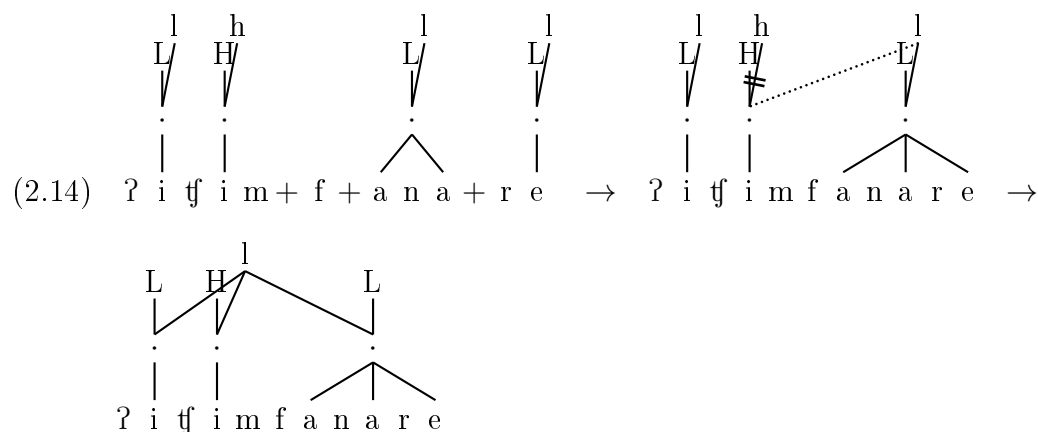
Parallel examples include feminine plural general converb forms of the a-class, where the plural marker is toneless -e, as in *sháab-ē-rà* 'milking'. By contrast, in the masculine form this process does not apply (cf. *sháab-é-rē* 'milking', *shíip'éfē* 'he begs'). The high tone of the root vowel simply spreads to the right according to RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE.

Again, LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH may apply to a root syllable if the second root consonant is a depressor consonant and the root vowel is short, as in *tūjēfà* 'she spits'.

If the stem vowel drops (which applies mostly to a-class verbs, but apparently sometimes depends on phonological properties, cf. section 4.5) LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH also applies to long root vowels, as in H verbs such as *zēemm-à*, the general converb of *zēmā*²¹ 'precede, be first', or *shāab-f-à*, 3rd person singular imperfective of *shāabā* 'milk'.

The next example shows the precedence of LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH over RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE on the same syllable. The second syllable of the stem is downstepped because of low suffix combination -*f-à-nà-rè* that follows:

ìchīm-f-à-nà-rè 'it dried and' (DS)



Consider the difference between *ìchīm-f-à-nà-rè* 'it dried and' (DS) and *ìchīm-nā-rè* 'it dried and' (SS). In the first verb form, the low tone of the first syllable does not

²¹ The rising tone on the first syllable of the verbal noun is due to EMERGENCE OF LOW, see below.

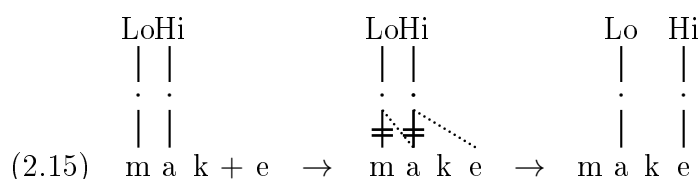
spread to the following, downstepped syllable, since RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE does not apply to a downstepped syllable. On the other hand, in the second verb form the suffixation of *-nā-rè* obviously does not trigger LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH, thus the low tone of the first syllable is allowed to spread to the second syllable, which leads to the creation of a rising tone.

Emergence of low A voiced initial root consonant leads to the creation of a low tone on the vowel following it if

- a) the first root vowel is long, or if
- b) the second root consonant is voiceless, and if
- c) the first root vowel is not downstepped (resulting from LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH).

As an example, consider the formation of the 3rd person simple form of *mākō* ‘tell’:

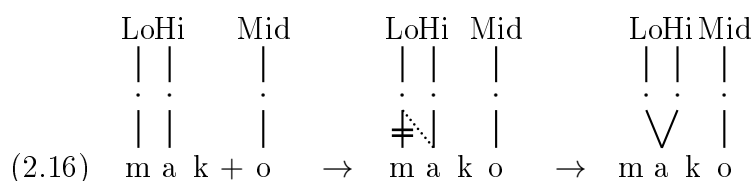
māké ‘he/she told’



This process equally applies to the formation of other verb forms, nouns and adjectives.²²

If the syllable following the root, i.e. the stem vowel, is not toneless, the depressor low and the high tone are both attached to the root syllable and form a rising tone:

mākō ‘telling (VN)’

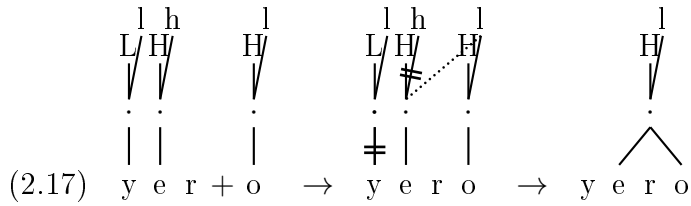


Condition c), which is the blocking of EMERGENCE OF A LOW following the application of LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH, is in operation for example in the verbal noun *yērō* ‘standing’:

²² The tonal process described is not attested with adverbs since the database contains no adverbs that meet the conditions.

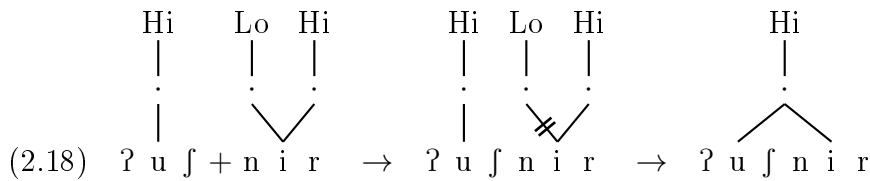
2. Phonology

yērō ‘standing (VN)’



Simplification of rising after high A rising tone that occurs after a high tone loses its low component and becomes high. The low tone is simply delinked:

úshnír ‘he will drink’



This simplification also happens after a rising tone. In such a case, in addition to the delinking of the low component of the second rising tone, the high component of the first rising tone spreads to the right. Then it delinks from its original syllable, and merges with the second high component. This results in a low-high melody spread over both syllables in a two-syllable word, e.g. *bùknír* ‘he will sow’ (composed of the root *būk-* and the suffix *-nír*).²³

SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH also applies across word boundaries (cf. under the same heading below).

Processes that apply across word boundaries

The processes described in this section apply after the processes in word formation have taken place.

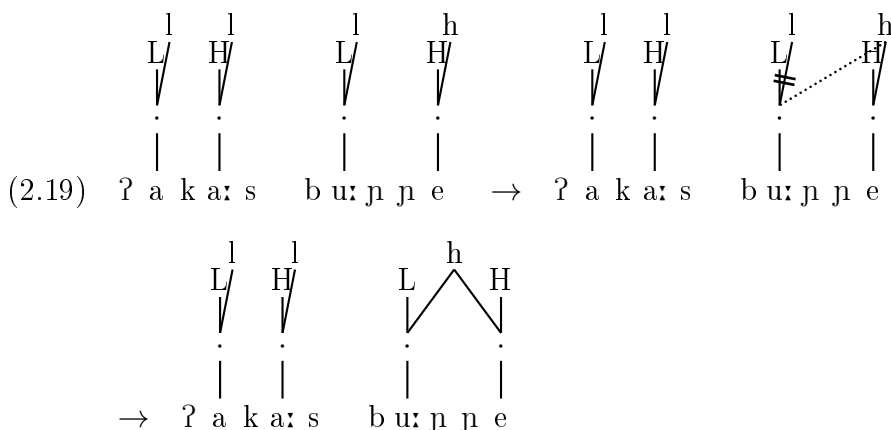
Assimilation of low to mid A final mid or high tone changes the low first syllable of the next word to mid if the syllable following it is high.

An example is *àkāas būunnyé* ‘the water became turbid’, where the first syllable of *būunnyé* would be low in isolation.

This process can be described as upstep of low caused by the leftward spread of the h register feature from the following syllable, co-triggered by the preceding mid tone:

²³ Judging from the examples *úshnír* ‘he will drink’ and *bùknír* ‘he will sow’ the suffix *-nír* could also be toneless. However, *-nír* is analysed as carrying a rising tone. The reason for this analysis lies in examples like *shíip’ōnír* ‘he will ask’ or *tūjōnír* ‘he will spit’, where the rising tone on the last syllable cannot be explained by RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE (from the stem onto the suffix), and the mid tones before the suffix find their explanation in LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH (cf. below) caused by the low component of the rising tone.

àkāas būunnyé ‘the water became turbid’

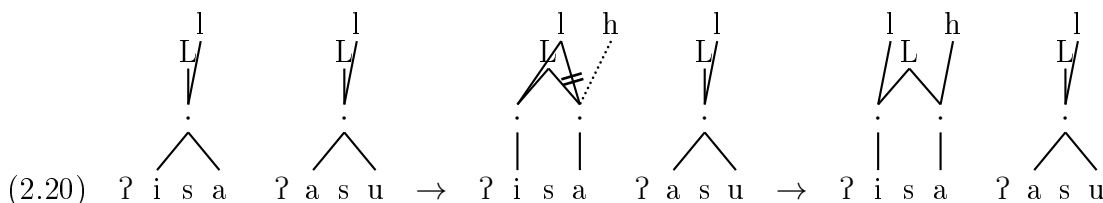


The process is not confined to certain syntactic environments such as subject-verb combinations, but also occurs elsewhere. This can be e.g. a combination of a converb and a main verb, such as *yī-r-ē māké* ‘he (said and) told’, or of any words, as the fragment *...èkkā āané...* ‘...like this NEG...’ shows. Examples with a preceding high tone include verb forms following the negative particle *āané*, such as *āané ōfówénī* ‘NEG you (pol.) came/went’.

Dissimilation of low to mid A low tone at the end of a word between two low tones becomes mid. This process can be described by the insertion of a h register feature (non-iterating upstep) in that environment.

As an example consider the sentence *chòl àsū fěr* ‘There is/are (a) weak man/men’, where the form *àsù* ‘man’ changes to *àsū*²⁴. Another example is shown in the autosegmental representation of the process:

isā àsù ‘one man’



The emergence of the h register tone is simply an observation and cannot be explained at present.

It has to be mentioned that in the same environment a low tone may also turn into a rising instead of a mid tone, as in *innǝ dèy* ‘we TOP’. The conditions for this variation

²⁴ *àsū* is homophonous with the feminine form ‘woman’. However, the masculine concord of the adjective *chòl* (fem. *chòlà*) and the existential verb *fěr* (fem. *fàr*) show that in this sentence the masculine form is meant by *àsū*.

2. Phonology

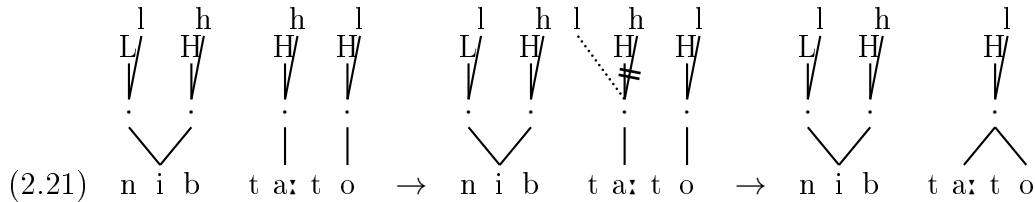
are unclear; it seems that instead of a h register tone a high TRN is attached to the last syllable of the first word.

Downstep of high after rising A high tone at the beginning of a word is downstepped to mid following a rising tone.

In the masculine form of the expression *nĩb t̄aat̄ō* ‘dumb’, lit. ‘heart-tied’, the first syllable of *t̄aat̄ō* is downstepped to *t̄aat̄ō*.²⁵

In autosegmental representation, the emergence of a l register tone that leads to the downstep has to be simply assumed (triggered somehow by the rising tone), as there is no clue of its origin.

nĩb t̄aat̄ō ‘dumb (m.)’

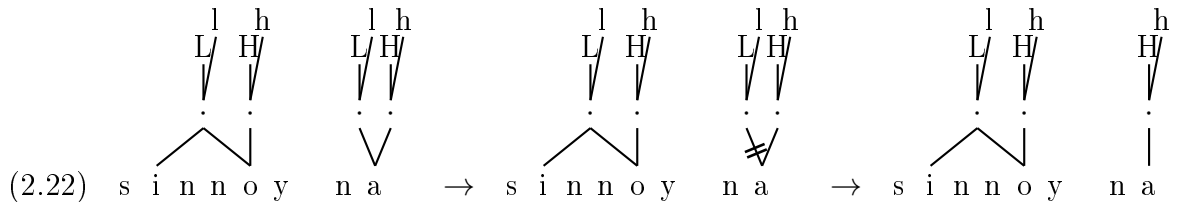


However, it is not clear when the application of this rule is obligatory, as I have examples where it does not apply—especially after SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH, the next rule described.

Simplification of rising after high A rising tone on the first syllable of a word is simplified to high if it is preceded by a high tone; this can also be the high component of a rising tone (cf. above for the same rule applying in suffixation). This process can be accounted for by the delinking of the low component from the rising tone, and results in examples like *és m̄āmāas* ‘those clothes’ (< *m̄āmā* ‘clothes’); *...kūn-f-ànà-nnēen n̄é...* ‘...while she was lying, you...’ (< *n̄ě* ‘you’).

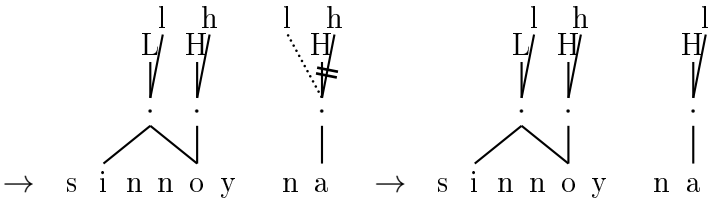
Subsequently, the resulting high tone is often downstepped to mid according to the previously described rule DOWNSTEP OF HIGH AFTER RISING. Thus, in *sinn̄õy n̄ā* ‘impossible guy’ the rising tone of *n̄ā* ultimately becomes mid *n̄ā*.

sinn̄õy n̄ā ‘impossible guy’



²⁵ Compare the masculine form with the mid first syllable in *t̄aat̄ō* to the feminine form *nĩbā t̄aat̄ō*, where *nĩbā* ‘heart’ is in the feminine form containing a mid stem vowel and *t̄aat̄ō* remains unchanged.

2.6. *Tone*



3. The noun phrase

In this chapter, various aspects of the noun phrase domain are discussed. They are necessary for a fuller understanding of the language and are meant to complement the sections on the verbal system that follow.

3.1. Nouns, adjectives and gender marking

Nouns have the same morphological make-up as adjectives; they are also marked for gender in the same way. However, they differ in the syntactic positions they may assume: nouns are used as arguments (or predicates), whereas adjectives serve as attributes (or predicates).

3.1.1. Gender morphology

Nouns and adjectives are formed from a root and a stem-final vowel (henceforth: stem vowel), the presence of the latter is dependent on the inflectional class. Commonly, the root has the form CVC-, though there are also longer roots and roots in C- only.

There are three main morphological classes according to the stem vowels -a, -o and -u in the feminine. The stem vowels -i and -e are rather marginal. A few other nouns end with a consonant. Table 3.1 shows the number of nouns and adjectives from the lexicon database according to their stem vowels. Verbal nouns are listed separately to show the slightly different and more regular behaviour of their stem vowels. Verbal nouns are formed exactly like other nouns, but they are primarily used in their verbal form and are—semantically—abstract nouns that denote actions rather than entities.

Stem vowel	-a	-o	-u	-e/-i	-∅
Nouns	226	105	30	19	9
Verbal nouns	123	122	139	-	-
Adjectives	74	34	29	2	-

Table 3.1.: Stem vowels of feminine nouns, verbal nouns and adjectives

From table 3.1 it can be seen that the e/i- and ∅-classes are not present among verbal nouns and only marginally among adjectives.

Hayward (1987) shows that in Omoto languages, there are also lexically determined terminal vowels on nominals. There, they are mostly -a, -e and -o. In Yemsa, stem

3. The noun phrase

vowels are also present on verbs, where their alternation signals realis or irrealis mood (cf. section 4.5), besides being part of verbal noun formation, as pointed out above.

So far, only feminine nouns and adjectives have been taken into account. This is because all nouns and adjectives have a feminine form, but the masculine form is only used for male natural gender. As feminine is the default gender in Yemsa, feminine nouns and adjectives comprise both female and inanimate referents.

Morphologically, however, both genders are equally marked; none can be said to derive from the other. Feminine gender is marked either by a stem vowel with mid tone or a stem vowel -a with no inherent tone. Masculine gender either has no inherent tone, no stem vowel at all, or a final high tone with or without a stem vowel. Where the stem vowel has no inherent tone, the tones of the lexical pattern are distributed over the whole stem including the stem vowel. Where the stem vowel drops in the masculine form, the tones of the lexical pattern are associated with the remaining syllables. Combinations of these types of marking lead to six different classes, illustrated in table 3.2 (SV stands for stem vowel).

Many of these pairs show morphophonemic or tonal changes, such as *bàakm-à* - *bàakùm*, where an epenthetic /u/ is inserted in the masculine form to prevent the cluster /km#/ . Tonal processes include RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE (all examples with no inherent tone on the stem vowel, such as *fànt-ù*), EMERGENCE OF LOW (masc. forms *bǒz*, *mā'-á*) and LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH (fem. forms *chīm-ō*, *mā'-ā*). The tonal processes are described in section 2.6.3.

The classes where the stem vowel drops in the masculine form consist only of a-class nouns and adjectives.

The final high tone in masculine adjectives such as *gàsǎs* can be considered a masculine suffix, which also occurs as part of the masculine definite marker (cf. section 3.7). The formation of the contour tone results from RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE described in section 2.6.3 above.

The data in table 3.2 clearly shows that Lamberti's statement (1993:56, 68) that masculine nouns, adjectives (and verbs!) have a final high tone, whereas feminine ones have a final low tone, is wrong. The final high tone of masculine forms is only found with the forms that have a high tone on the root, and with a small number of forms where an additional high tone marks the masculine form.

Schaumberger (MSa:3, 21) states there are two different ways of gender marking for nouns: In one group the masculine form ends on a low or high tone and the feminine one on mid. In the other group, the final vowel of the feminine form is deleted in that of the masculine. The missing distinction between the feminine forms that carry mid tone on the stem vowel and those that inherit their tone from the root syllable makes it impossible to account for tonal changes on pairs such as *bōz-ā* - *bǒz*. Furthermore, Schaumberger (MSa) does not mention the—admittedly few—adjectives that add a high tone in the masculine form.

3.1. Nouns, adjectives and gender marking

Feminine	Masculine	
SV with mid tone	SV with no inherent tone	
<i>ákō</i>	<i>ákó</i>	‘chicken/hen - rooster’
<i>fàntū</i>	<i>fàntù</i>	‘sheep - ram’
<i>àwjā</i>	<i>àwjà</i>	‘lazy’
<i>mā’ā</i>	<i>mā’á</i>	‘good’
<i>chīmō</i>	<i>chímó</i>	‘muscle-bound’
<i>shūp’ō</i>	<i>shúp’ó</i>	‘thin’
<i>gòozū</i>	<i>gòozú</i>	‘mature’ (youngster)
<i>kúrúrū</i>	<i>kúrúró</i>	‘dwarfish’
SV with mid tone	No SV	
<i>bōz-ā</i>	<i>bōz</i>	‘slave’
<i>séltán-ā</i>	<i>séltán</i>	‘sick woman/man’
<i>wīis-ā</i>	<i>wīis</i>	‘thief’
<i>cháal-ā</i>	<i>cháal</i>	‘best’
<i>dăag-ā</i>	<i>dăag</i>	‘silly’
SV with mid tone	SV with high tone	
<i>bizō</i>	<i>bizǒ</i>	‘stubborn’
<i>nifāsō</i>	<i>nifásó</i>	‘crazy’
SV with mid tone	No SV; final high tone	
<i>gàsàs-ā</i>	<i>gàsās</i>	‘sensible’
<i>èngìt-ā</i>	<i>èngít</i>	‘lame’
SV with no inherent tone	No SV	
<i>bàakm-à</i>	<i>bàakùm</i>	‘aardvark’
<i>fàz-à</i>	<i>fàz</i>	‘horse/mare - stallion’
<i>gìmùw-à</i>	<i>gìmù</i>	‘bush duiker’
<i>bèez-à</i>	<i>bèez</i>	‘brave’
SV with no inherent tone	No SV; final high tone	
<i>zèy-à</i>	<i>zě</i>	‘stinking’
<i>èlìng-à</i>	<i>èlǐng</i>	‘foolish’

Table 3.2.: Gender marking on nouns and adjectives

3. The noun phrase

Compound adjectives

Compound adjectives consist of a noun and an adjective, with the adjective as head. Such compound adjectives share the peculiarity that both parts are marked for gender. This leads to nouns that are marked for masculine or feminine gender, agreeing with the head adjective. Such nouns, like ‘heart’ or ‘stone’, are otherwise feminine because they refer to inanimate entities. Consider the following example:

- (3.1) *nībā tāātō - nīb tāātō*
heart.f tied.f heart.m tied.m
‘dumb’

More often than not, the noun carries a gender-marked 3rd-person possessive suffix:

- (3.2) *sībā kàagā - sībā kàag*
nose.3fPOSS.f sharp.f nose.3mPOSS.f sharp.m
‘big-nosed’

The second part of the compound may also be a (gender-marked) noun:

- (3.3) *nībbā shū’ā - nībbā shú’*
heart.3fPOSS.f stone.f heart.3mPOSS.f stone.m
‘stouthearted’

3.1.2. Adjectives in use

Adjectives may be used as attributes or as predicates. As attributes, they are placed before the head noun and agree with it in gender:

- (3.4) a. *tittānā àsū*
greedy.f woman
‘greedy woman’
b. *tittān àsù*
greedy.m man
‘greedy man’

As predicate nouns, they agree in gender with the subject. For non-future reference in affirmative utterances, they are juxtaposed to the noun or pronoun they qualify, as there is no overt copula in affirmative declarative utterances:

- (3.5) *Ìnnō kèyàa-s inyà.*
our house-DEF big.f
‘Our house is/was big.’

For future reference, the verb *sinà* ‘become’ is used as a copula:

- (3.6) *Ìnnō kèyàa-s ìnyà sìn-à-nā.*
 our house-DEF big.f become-IRR-3
 ‘Our house will be big.’

In the negative, the negative copula *-tá/-tè* is suffixed to the adjective, agreeing in gender with the subject:

- (3.7) a. *Ìnnō kèyàa-s ìnyà-tá.*
 our house-DEF big.f-COP_{NEG.f}
 ‘Our house is/was not big.’
 b. *Tà àbăa-s dìch-tè.*
 my father-DEF tall.m-COP_{NEG.m}
 ‘My father is/was not tall.’

3.2. Noun suffixes

In this section, suffixes that may occur on nouns are discussed. They mark different categories: plural, politeness or possession. Case marking and definiteness, however, deserve their own sections below (3.3 and 3.7, respectively).

3.2.1. Plural suffixes

Plural marking is not obligatory with plural referents in Yemsa. There are two plural markers on nouns; both consist of a genitive marker and a further suffix. GEN+*-mèyà* is used with human referents¹; GEN+*-kitō* (f) or *-kitò* (m) (variants: *-kì’ō/-kì’ò*) may be used with all nouns.²

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>wūzāa-s-ī-kitō</i> | ‘the things’ |
| | thing-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f | |
| | <i>màjăa-s-ā-kitò</i> | ‘the hyenas’ |
| | hyena.m-DEF-GEN.m-PL.m | |

¹ The question remains open whether *-mèyà* may only be used with masculine nouns, as suggested by the data in the corpus.

² The suffixes *-mèyà* and *-kitō/-kitò* probably derive from nouns. This would explain their occurrence with the genitive marker. In the current lexicon, *mēyā* (with mid tone) means ‘barley’ or ‘grain’. For *-kitō/-kitò*, however, no possible source was found. Lamberti (1993:71) hypothesises that it is cognate to Kafa and Sheko words for ‘gather, collect’. Schaumberger (MSa) mentions that *meya* (unmarked tone) can be used as a noun with plural meaning, occurring after an attribute, such as *atka meya* ‘the boys’ (lit.: ‘male ones’), *ode meya* ‘the listening ones’.

3. The noun phrase

<i>gònyō-s-ī-kì'ō</i>	‘the wild animals’
wild.animal-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f	
<i>gùmǎa-s-ā-kì'ò</i>	‘the enemies’
enemy.m-DEF-GEN.m-PL.m	
<i>óomā-ys-ī-kitō</i>	‘the others’
other.f-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f	
<i>wàashà-s-ī-kitō-nò</i>	‘the big pitchers (ACC)’
big.pitcher-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f-ACC.f	
<i>wòlkō-bàa-s-ī-kitō-nòn</i>	‘her neighbours (ACC)’
neighbour.f-3fPOSS.f-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f-ACC.f	
<i>nàwò-bàa-s-ā-kitò(-ník)</i>	‘(to) his disciples’
disciple.m-3mPOSS.m-DEF-GEN.m-PL.m-LOC.m	
<hr/>	
b. <i>àsìbó-nī-mèyà</i>	‘(the) teachers’
teacher.m-GEN.m-PL _{HUM}	
<i>àsù-nī-mèyà</i>	‘(the) men’
man-GEN.m-PL _{HUM}	
<i>kùr'ù-nī-mèyà</i>	‘(the) elders’
elder.m-GEN.m-PL _{HUM}	
<i>mèttǎn-nī-mèyà</i>	‘(the) patients’
patient.m-GEN.m-PL _{HUM}	
<i>àngàchà-nī-mèyà</i>	‘(the) cats’ (in a fable)
cat.m-GEN.m-PL _{HUM}	

-kitō/-kitò is always used with the definite genitive suffix (a.), whereas *-mèyà* is used with the indefinite one (b.). Further definite marking is impossible; thus the case suffixes that can be added at the end are always indefinite (*nàwò-bàasā-kitò-ník*, *wàashà-s-ī-kitò-nò*). In spite of the lack of the definiteness marker in nouns with *-mèyà*, plural marking generally tends to occur with nouns that are definite (cf. section 3.7 on definiteness). However, this may not be a direct condition: since plural marking is optional, it is probably triggered by some notion of saliency, which is also a property of definite nouns.

The next example illustrates that plural marking is not needed for plural referents.

- (3.8) *Mīinì kèzzò è'sō kèebā=kèebā ùfěesshū*
 cow.GEN.f herdsman morning house.3mPOSS.f=house.3mPOSS.f breakfast
mè-sé-nā-nnēen òrfō íntō-bā=íntō-bāa-s gālā kácch-à
 eat.M-PL-3-TEMP₁ after mother-3mPOSS.f=mother-3mPOSS.f-DEF lunch wrap.CV-F
īmī-n;
 give.3-DS
 ‘After the cowherds have eaten breakfast at their house, their mothers wrap the lunch and give it (to them);’

The fact that there are multiple referents is shown by the plural marker *-sé* on the

verb *mè-sé-nā-nnēen* and the distributive use of the reduplicated nouns *kèe-bā=kèe-bā* and of *intō-bā=intō-bāas*.

Normally, the plural form is not used with numerals, though it may occur if the head noun is definite:

- (3.9) *Ìzgin màjǎa-s-ā-kitò* *ây-nā* *ây-nā* *isā àbà-nī*
 nine hyena.m-DEF-GEN.m-PL.m brother-and.m brother-and.m one father-GEN.m
nàanggòt.
 children.m
 ‘The nine hyenas were brothers and the children of one father.’

3.2.2. Politeness suffix

Lamberti (1993:74ff) mentions a vocative suffix *-now*. This corresponds to *-nō³* in my own data:

- (3.10) *Ālâžěr-nō*, *yà-r-à* *kés-wā!*
 Lazarus-POL come.F-CV-F exit/ascend-ADR.m
 ‘Lazarus, come out!’

However, *-nō* is far from being used in vocative function only.⁴ Rather, it is a politeness marker that may occur with different cases. Generally, *-nō* is attached to the noun before possible case or definiteness markers. In the next example, it is used with a noun in the nominative (*àngàchà-nó* ‘Cat’) and with a noun in the locative case (*kò’ù-nó-k* ‘to Mouse’):

- (3.11) *Ìsàwà àngàchà-nó* *kò’ù-nó-k* *èkkā yī-r-ē* *māké-tē:*
 one.day cat.m-POL mouse.m-POL-LOC like.this say-CV-M tell-3POL
 ‘One day Cat said to Mouse.’

In fables, the main animal characters are often marked by *-no*.

Normally, *-nō* occurs before a case marker, but in the genitive, it replaces the genitive suffix, which leads to formal identity of nominative and genitive-marked polite nouns:

- (3.12) *Hànè àkā-sī hām-è-f-ēn* *kà’ō éetó-nó* *gèsh ǒ-s-tā*
 Together water-in go-PL-IPFV-DS.3 monkey.f lion.m-POL[.GEN] back-DEF-on
késs-ē *dǐ-fāa-n⁵* *wór’-ē* *hāmm-ē àkā-sī kár’-tē.*
 exit/ascend.CV-M sit-SEQ.3f-DS carry.CV-M go.CV-M water-in reach-3POL
 ‘Together they went to the water; Monkey having climbed on Lion’s back and Lion carrying him, they reached the water.’

³ The politeness suffix occurs as *-nó* after masculine animal names in my data, but there is too little evidence to generalise on its tonal behaviour.

⁴ In fact, Lamberti (1993:78) also has an example of *-no* as a genitive marker on the noun *tàatò* ‘king’, but he does not link it to his ‘vocative suffix’ *-now*.

3. The noun phrase

Lamberti (1993:78) states that with feminine plural nouns *-ne* is used instead of *-now*. I have no such example in my data. Instead, in the next example *-nō* is suffixed to a female referent (*Wālāttū*):

- (3.13) *Wālāttū-nō gābā-nì māj-nì mājā àané shùn-f-ē.*
 W.-POL market-GEN.f clothes-GEN.f wear.VN NEG like-IPFV-3POL
 ‘Walattu does not like wearing clothes from the market.’

3.2.3. Possessive person suffixes

Yemsa has two strategies to mark possession or association: possessive pronouns (presented in section 3.4.2 below) and possessive person suffixes. The latter are attached to the possessed noun and indicate the possessor. The 1st person singular and the 3rd person are additionally marked for gender of the possessed.

Possessive person suffixes					
1s	-nā (f)	-tā (m)	1p	-nì	
2s	-nè		2p	-ntī	
2sEND	-ntī				
		2POL	-nì		
		3f	-bā (f)	-bā (m)	
		3m	-bā (f)	-bā (m)	
		3POL	-bēsì		

Identical forms are used in the singular and the plural except for the 1st and the 2st person (however, the 2st person singular endearment is identical to the 2st person plural).

In the a-class, the majority of the feminine nouns lose their stem vowel when a possessive or an indefinite genitive suffix is attached to them:

⁵ Curiously, while gender reference of the preceding converb *késs-ē* is masculine (or polite), it is feminine (non-polite) on *dī-fāa-n*. *kā'ō* ‘monkey’ is a feminine noun.

Noun (f.)	Noun + POSS/GEN	
<i>kěyā</i>	<i>kěebā</i>	‘her house’
<i>mīyā</i>	<i>mīibā</i>	‘his cow’
<i>fāzā</i>	<i>fāzbā</i>	‘his horse’
<i>kēwā</i>	<i>kēwbā</i>	‘his egg’
<i>éesā</i>	<i>éesbā</i>	‘his honey’
<i>tèetā</i>	<i>tèetbā</i>	‘his head’
<i>nībā</i>	<i>nībbā</i>	‘his heart’
<i>tíkā</i>	<i>tíkni</i>	‘your (pol.) name’
<i>mīyā</i>	<i>mīinì kèzzò</i>	‘cowherd’
<i>kàsā</i>	<i>kàsnì mèrō</i>	‘bird’s sickness’
<i>mèshmétā</i>	<i>mèshmétni wònā</i>	‘lunch time’
<i>būnā</i>	<i>būnni kèp’ā</i>	‘coffee harvesting’

Exceptions are (among others) the nouns *âfā* ‘grandmother’ (*âfā-bā* ‘his grandmother’), *māzā* ‘wound’ (*māzā-bā* ‘his wound’) and *ûsā* ‘*k’och’o* bread’ (*ûsā-bā* ‘his *k’och’o* bread’).

Distributive constructions are formed by two subsequent identical nouns marked by 3rd person possessive suffixes. Possible definiteness and case marking only occurs at the end of the second noun.

- (3.14) ***Tés-bā=tés-bā-s-sī-n*** *dèy zùuttāmbāsē*
 clan-3mPOSS.f=clan-3mPOSS.f-DEF-in-ABL TOP all
âwâas-bā=âwâas-bā *fě-r.*
 god-3fPOSS.m=god-3fPOSS.m be.there.M[.3]-NML
 ‘Each clan has their own god.’ (Lit.: ‘From each of their clans, there is their god.’)

For another example see (3.8). From the available data it is not clear whether distributive constructions are only found with possessive constructions.

3.3. Case

Case is marked on the head, i.e. a noun or a pronoun, without any agreement of other parts of the noun phrase. The suffixes are essentially the same for nouns and pronouns; special accusative, locative and possessive pronouns are discussed below in section 3.4.

There are twelve cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, superessive, inessive, adessive, ablative, perlocative, comitative, coordinative and similative. Of those, six are spatial cases. Gender is differentiated in some, but not all of the case suffixes. The definite suffix *-s* is placed before the case ending, which results in sandhi phenomena in the case of /s/ before a syllable starting with /n/ (complete assimilation) or the insertion of the epenthetic vowel /i/ in other cases, that is before a case suffix

3. The noun phrase

consisting of a single consonant (for a description of morphophonological processes see section 2.4).

In the accusative and in the adessive, there is a distinct suffix for polite nouns. Since polite nouns are inherently definite, there is no possibility for them to occur with the definite suffix.

The simulative 2 only occurs in combination with the genitive.

Table 3.4 is a summary of all case suffixes occurring on nouns. The nominative is not included since it is the base form of the noun without any suffix. The polite variants of the case markers are attached after the politeness suffix (treated in section 3.2.2 above). An exception is the genitive, where the politeness suffix occurs alone (cf. ex. (3.12) in section 3.2.2). In the remaining cases with no polite variants listed, they are identical to the masculine ones.

		ACC	GEN	LOC	SUP	IN	AD	ABL	PER
fem	indef	<i>-nò(n)</i>	<i>-nì</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-tā</i>	<i>-sī</i>	<i>-kī</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-kámó</i>
	def	<i>-sō(n)</i>	<i>-sī</i>	<i>-s-ík</i>	<i>-s-tā</i>	<i>-s-sī</i>	<i>-s-kī</i>	<i>-s-īn</i>	<i>-s-kámó</i>
masc	indef	<i>-nī(n)</i>	<i>-nī⁶</i>	<i>-ní-k</i>	<i>-tā</i>	<i>-sī</i>	<i>-ní-kī</i>	<i>-sīn</i>	<i>-kámó</i>
	def	<i>- 'sī(n)</i>	<i>- 'sā</i>	<i>-s-ík</i>	<i>- 's-tā</i>	<i>- 's-sī</i>	<i>- 's-kī</i>	<i>- 'sīn</i>	<i>-s-kámó</i>
pol		<i>-tī(n)</i>		<i>- 'k</i>			<i>-tī</i>		

		COMIT	COORD	SIMIL 1	GEN + SIMIL 2
fem	indef	<i>-něen</i>	<i>-nē(wā)</i>	<i>-nē</i>	<i>-nì-mātó</i>
	def	<i>-(s-)sēen</i>	<i>-s-sē(wā)</i>	<i>-(y)sē</i>	<i>-sī-mātó</i>
masc	indef	<i>-néen</i>	<i>-nā(wā)</i>	<i>-nē</i>	<i>-nī-mātó</i>
	def	<i>-(s-)séen</i>	<i>- '(s-)sā(wā)</i>	<i>- 'sē</i>	<i>- 'sā-mātó</i>

Table 3.4.: Case suffixes

From among the inadequacies of previous descriptions I want to mention Cerulli's (1938:50) view that Yemsa has a subject case in *-(t)u*, apparently as opposed to an unmarked or absolute case. Partly, he mistakes the focus marker *=tu* (cf. section 1.2.4 above) as a case suffix. Lamberti (1993:74) acknowledges the fact that there is no subject case marker *-tu*; nevertheless he maintains the distinction between a 'subject' and an 'absolute' case, admitting that they do not differ morphologically. However, in Yemsa there is simply no trace of a marked nominative case system—in contrast to other Ethiopian languages. Furthermore, there is no vocative case, as I argued above in section 3.2.2.

For other case suffixes the gender-marked forms provided in Lamberti (1993:72ff) are incomplete. This has influenced the conception of the development of case in Omotic: Because Lamberti (1993:73f) lists only masculine forms for the locative ('Dativ/Benefaktiv') and the adessive ('Direktiv') cases⁷, only forms with the suffix *-ni*

⁶ Schaumberger (MSa) mistakenly has *-na* as masculine indefinite genitive marker.

⁷ Unfortunately, Lamberti (1993) takes *bù 'isànikìtō-* (f) / *bù 'isànikìtò-* (m) (tone marking SZ) as

are displayed. As a consequence, Hayward and Tsuge (1998:31) mistake *-ni* as ‘a sort of ‘oblique case’ base for the attachment of other more peripheral markers’, which forms the main argument for a hypothesis concerning the nature of a **-n* case in Proto-Omoti. However, synchronically, *-ni* should be analysed as a masculine suffix occurring with the above-mentioned cases, not as a suffix that conveys a case meaning in the first place.

Some case suffixes are also used on dependent verb forms, with partly divergent meanings. These are the locative, similitive 1 and 2 and comitative case markers. Their function on dependent verb forms are discussed in chapter 8 below, with an overview in table 8.2.

In the following sections, the individual cases and their nominal uses will be discussed.

3.3.1. Nominative and accusative

As pointed out in the previous section, Yemsa features a nominative-accusative case system. It has an S/A pivot and the accusative is the marked case, both formally and functionally. The nominative is morphologically unmarked and used for the grammatical subject of the sentence; accusative marking occurs on syntactic objects.

In nominal sentences, both the subject and the predicate noun are in the nominative case:

- (3.15) *Wòstō-bēsì-s dèy búlínnyá.*
 work-3POL.POSS-DEF TOP farmer.m
 ‘They work as farmers.’ (Lit.: ‘Their work is farmer.’)

Indefinite objects usually do not take the accusative suffix (e.g. ex. (3.86)).⁸

The indefinite accusative suffix is used most often on proper names or on other objects that are treated as inherently definite, see e.g. ex. (3.91) below. If the object is definite, the definite suffix *-s* replaces the initial *-n-* of the suffix *-nō(n)* or *-nī(n)*. Thus, the resulting *-ō(n)* and *-ī(n)* are phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the accusative suffix.

- (3.16) *Shùk-tè-nā kābā-k àsũu-s àshāa-s-ōn mě.*
 slaughter-PASS-3 time-LOC.f man-DEF meat-DEF-ACC.f eat.M
 ‘When it had been slaughtered, the man ate the meat.’

The variants of the accusative suffix with or without the final *-n* seem to alter freely.

The polite form of the accusative suffix is *-tī(n)* and occurs after the politeness suffix *-no* (cf. section 3.2.2 above):

‘girls’, while children of both sexes can be denoted by this word, and his informant apparently thinks of boys judging from the forms. In the locative plural, he also cites the feminine form without *-ni*, used for ‘cows’.

⁸ A counterexample is found in ex. (3.18), where *kūr’ù* ‘elder(s)’ is accusative-marked in spite of its being indefinite. This may be due to the referents’ animacy and/or saliency.

3. The noun phrase

- (3.17) *És àjǎjī-s-ī-mātó gònyō-s-ī-kì'ō*
 DEM order[ORO]-DEF-GEN.f-like wild.animal-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f
àrgā-bà=àrgā-bàa-s-īk hàmm-à éetó-nó-tī màm̀sì-r-à
 turn-3fPOSS.f=turn-3fPOSS.f-DEF-LOC.f go.CV-F lion.m-POL-ACC_{POL} ask-CV-F
kò'ì.
 finish
 ‘According to that order, the animals had gone to visit (lit.: ask) Lion one by one.’

3.3.2. Genitive

In the next sentence, both a masculine (*nǎasā*) and a feminine (*nàwàasī*) definite genitive are present. For an indefinite genitive, see e.g. ex. (3.19) below.⁹

- (3.18) *És-séen òrfō nǎa-s-ā àbà nàwàa-s-ī àbà-níkí¹⁰ kùr'ù-nī*
 DEM-COMIT after boy-DEF-GEN.m father girl-DEF-GEN.f father-at.m elder-ACC.m
wòsì-r-ē màm̀sì-n...
 send-CV-M ask.3-DS
 ‘After that the boy’s father sends elders to the girl’s father and they ask (him)...’

Besides possession and association, a further function of the genitive is to mark the material of the head noun:

- (3.19) *Hān dì-sé gīmnì shū'ni wàashà-s-ī-kìtō-nò àkā-k*
 DEM sit-PL jar.GEN.f stone.GEN.f big.pitcher-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f-ACC.f water-LOC.f
tùun-ù-tì-wà.
 fill-IRR-2p-ADR.m
 ‘Fill these jars here [lit. ‘sitting’], the big stone pitchers with water.’

Together with a verbal noun as head, the genitive marks its semantic object:

- (3.20) *màynì màyà*
 clothes.GEN.f wear.VN
 ‘wearing of clothes’

On the other hand, if the verbal noun is the genitive-marked possessor, it functions as an attribute of the head noun:

àrū-nì kèyà ‘school’ (lit. ‘house of learning’)
tòrū-nì dàwō ‘ploughing team’

⁹ For the drop of the stem vowel before an indefinite genitive suffix, which occurs with a set of a-class nouns, see section 3.2.3 above.

¹⁰ A definite possessor automatically renders the possessed noun definite so that no definite marker is necessary on the possessed noun, cf. also section 3.7.5 below.

wòstō-nì mǎyà ‘working clothes’

àssū-nì bǎr ‘teacher’ (lit.: ‘the one of teaching’)

3.3.3. Spatial cases

Spatial cases include the locative, superessive, inessive, adessive, ablative and perlative cases. Semantically, they form a system as shown in table 3.5.

	In	On	At
Location	Inessive (+ locative)	Superessive (+ locative)	Adessive
Destination			
Source	Inessive + ablative	Superessive + ablative	Adessive + ablative

Table 3.5.: Spatial case semantics

Location and destination are not distinguished from another by case suffixes. Rather, inessive, superessive and adessive case suffixes are used for both. For source, the ablative is added to the inessive, superessive or adessive case suffixes. However, the ablative may occur alone with proper names.

The locative has broad locative semantics, in addition to other uses discussed in section 3.3.3 below. In its locative function it usually occurs in combination with other spatial cases. This is probably the result of semantic bleaching and is linked to its grammaticalisation to other functions. The other spatial cases with their more fine-grained semantics are preferred to the locative to express spatial relations.

The perlative is not integrated into the system in table 3.5 above. It occurs in combination with the adessive if the referent is not a typical path.

The combinations of spatial case suffixes are shown in table 3.6.

	Combined with		ABL	LOC	PER
SUP		indef	-tā-n	-tā-k	–
		def	-s-tā-n	-s-tā-k	–
IN		indef	-sī-n	-sī-k	–
		def	-s-sī-n	-s-sī-k	–
AD	fem	indef	-kī-n	–	-kí-kámó
	masc	indef	-níkī-n	–	-kí-kámó
	fem	def	-s-kī-n	–	-s-kí-kámó
	masc	def	-s-kī-n	–	-’s-kí-kámó

Table 3.6.: Combined spatial case suffixes

3. The noun phrase

Locative

The range of meanings associated with this suffix is quite large: as well as locative/temporal meanings, it can express not only dative and benefactive, but also instrumental and agentive meanings. The dative and instrumental meanings are the most frequent ones.¹¹ The label *locative* was chosen because this meaning is probably the starting point for the grammaticalisation process which led to the other meanings.

To an indefinite masculine noun the suffix *-ník* is added to form the locative; to an indefinite feminine one the suffix *-k*, cf. *hàarō-k* in ex. (3.27) and *zòkínnyá-ník* ex. (3.28), respectively.

A definite noun in the locative is characterised by the definite suffix *-s* followed by an epenthetic /i/ with the locative suffix *-k* (ex. (3.21)). The suffix carries a rising tone in the feminine (*-sĩk*) and a high tone in the masculine form (*-sík*). Locative *-k* may also be attached to personal pronouns, with some tonal idiosyncrasies (cf. section 3.4 and ex. (3.26)).

- (3.21) *Hàwng-něen ékálō innō mǎshkā nàwàa-s-ō nittó àtk'à*
 today-COMIT after our female girl-DEF-ACC.f 2p[.POSS] male
nàa-s-ík òot-ù-tì.
 boy-DEF-LOC.m cause.to.get.married-IRR-2p
 ‘Starting from today you will make our daughters get married to your sons.’

The following sentences exemplify the range of meanings conveyed by the locative suffix. A temporal and a locative meaning are shown in examples (3.22) and (3.23), respectively.

- (3.22) *Éstān innò wònòtìrì-k hàmm-à nàwàa-s-ō èp'-à*
 then we next.morning-LOC.f go.CV-F girl-DEF-ACC.f take[.CV]-F
yà-f-ènì.
 come.F-IPFV-1p
 ‘Then the next day we go and fetch the girl.’ (lit.: ‘take the girl and come’)
- (3.23) *Bār àrū-nì kèer-ũk àsirè.issè=tū àrì-f-à.*
 3sf learn.VN-GEN.f house_{LOC}-LOC.f eleven=FOC learn-IPFV-3f
 ‘She is (lit.: learns) in 11th grade.’

In this and the following example, the case suffix *-k* with locative meaning is combined with a locative noun, which can either be inherently locative like *kèer* in (3.23) or marked by superessive *-tā* like *kúp'ó* in (3.24) or by inessive *-sī* like *kèyà* in (3.25) below.

¹¹ While Schaumberger (MSa) calls this case marker ‘dative’, Lamberti (1993:72ff) treats it as marking the two cases ‘dative/benefactive’ and ‘instrumental’.

- (3.24) *Gàrō nàanggòtā kūp'ō-tā-k kòon-tè-r-à dūbb*
 little children.f bed-on-LOC.f give.birth-PASS-CV-F tumble[AMH.IDEO]
yī-nāasē cháag-á-nā.
 say-3.TEMP₂ cry-IRR-3
 'When babies are born on the bed they cry.'
- (3.25) *Bāas kèyā-s-sī-k āa-fá=tú.¹²*
 3sPOL house-DEF-in-LOC.f NEG-be.there.3f=FOC
 'He is not in the house.'

Dative:

- (3.26) *Hā'ō bār-īk mā'ā kèebā īm-àw-ng.*
 God 3f-LOC.f good.f house.3fPOSS.f give-OPT-3
 'May God give her a good house.'

Instrumental:

- (3.27) *Kèbbèdē mīyāa-s-ō hāarō-k íchí.*
 K. cow-DEF-ACC.f stick-LOC.f beat
 'Käbbädä beat the cow with a stick.'
- (3.28) *zòkínnyá-ník èp'-nē gír-ù-nē*
 match-maker.m-LOC.m take[.VN]-and.m enter-VN-and.m
 'wedding through a match-maker'

The amount of money for which an item is sold is also marked by the locative suffix:

- (3.29) *Kèez tīyā bīrrī-k=tū wàagēn.*
 three hundred birr-LOC.f=FOC trade.1s
 'I bought it for 300 Birr.'

Superessive

The superessive is used both for a position on top of something else (ex. (3.30)) and a movement onto it (superlative, ex. (3.31)).

- (3.30) *Hāarē-t dālgē-s-tā kàwō nì'-à sīr gèdī-n, mā'ā ùtō*
 become.angry.F-SS board-DEF-on salt mill[.CV]-F into put.into.3-DS good.f sauce
sìnì.
 become
 'Angrily she milled some salt on the board, put it into it; the sauce became good.'

¹² In this example, two facts are unexpected (and unexplained): the feminine form of the negated existential verb (masc.: *āafē*), and the focus marker =*tú* after the main verb.

The mid tone on *āa-fá=tú*—instead of a low—results from the application of the rule ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, cf. section 2.6.3.

3. The noun phrase

- (3.31) *Hànè àkā-sī hām-è-f-ēn kà'ō éetó-nó gèshǒ-s-tā*
 Together water-in go-PL-IPFV-DS.3 monkey.f lion.m-POL[.GEN] back-DEF-on
*késs-ē dī-fāa-n wór'-ē hāmm-ē àkā-sī kár'-tē.*¹³
 exit/ascend.CV-M sit-SEQ.3f-DS carry.CV-M go.CV-M water-in reach-3POL
 ‘Together they went to the water; Monkey having climbed on Lion’s back and
 Lion carrying him, they reached the water.’

As pointed out above, the locative case can be added to the superessive. This happens if the spatial relation ‘on’ is considered to be of a general nature:

- (3.32) *Mâyà ùgnà-k/ ùgùn-tā/ ùgùn-tā-k zìgì.*
 clothes road-LOC.f road-on road-on-LOC.f fall.down
 ‘The clothes fell down on the road.’

Here, the locative can also be used alone, which shows that *ùgnà* ‘road’ can be treated as an inherently locative noun.

If the place of the object is clearly on top of something else, the superessive is used:

- (3.33) *Bǎr kòdàa-s-tā dī-f-ē. (*kòdà-k; *kòdà-s-tā-k)*
 3sm chair-DEF-on sit-IPFV-3m chair-LOC.f chair-DEF-on-LOC.f
 ‘He is sitting on the chair.’

Inessive

In an analogy to the superessive, the inessive is used both for a position in a container and a movement into it (illative). In the following example, there are two occurrences of the inessive case. The first, *kèyàa-s-sī*, conveys inessive meaning (‘in the house’), whereas the second, *dǎamō-s-sī*, has illative meaning (‘into the big calabash’).

- (3.34) *È'sō kún-dīmā-n kàbì-r-à kèyàa-s-sī fútī-r-à gīmā èpp'-à*
 morning lie-place-ABL get.up-CV-F house-DEF-in sweep-CV-F jar take.CV-F
hāmm-à àkā kít-t-à yà-r-à kèer-kī bàassök ùfēeshū
 go.CV-F water haul.water.CV-F come.F-CV-F house-ATTR_{LOC} 3pPOL.LOC breakfast
kòotè-r-à būnā étī-r-à mà-sì-r-à késs-à àlàk'ā kófkī-r-à
 cook-CV-F coffee boil-CV-F eat.F-CAUS-CV-F after-F calf let.loose-CV-F
tānī-r-à shāabō shāabb-à dǎamō-s-sī gèd-nā-nnēen òrfō óomā
 let.suckle-CV-F milk milk.CV-F big.calabash-DEF-in put.into-3-TEMP₁ after other.f
shòwō wòstō wòstè-f-à.
 many work work-IPFV-3f

‘She gets up in the morning, sweeps the house, takes the jar, fetches water, prepares breakfast for her family, makes coffee, lets them eat, then lets the calf loose and lets it suckle, milks and pours (the milk) into the big calabash and does a lot of other work after this.’

¹³ Example repeated from ex. (3.12) above.

The inessive is also used when the space between some interconnected entities is referred to, as in the following example with the noun *gànyēā-s-sī* ‘between’:

- (3.35) ...zòkínnyá bàassò **gànyēā-s-sī** kùtì-r-ē bàassò-tīn wòllè-r-ē
 match.maker.m 3pPOL[.POSS] between-DEF-in walk-CV-M 3pPOL-ACC_{POL} talk-CV-M
 tèssh-ē isà dà ùp'-sì-f-ē.
 bring.CV-M one place meet-CAUS-IPFV-3m
 ‘...the match-maker goes to each of them (lit.: walks between them), talks to them and makes them meet somewhere.’

A metaphorical use of the inessive is shown in the next example by *nīb-nàas-sī* ‘in my heart’:

- (3.36) Éstān késs-à dèy 'Āfà nàwà tàa-s-ō èp'-à-nā?' yì-r-à
 then after-F TOP which girl my-DEF-Q marry-IRR-1s say-CV-F
 nīb-nàa-s-sī sàfàrén.
 heart-1sPOSS-DEF-in think.1s
 ‘Then I thought about which girl I should marry.’ (Lit.: ‘Then I thought in my heart: “Which girl is mine that I should take?”’)

With the verb *hāmà* ‘to go’ the inessive on a verbal noun conveys the purpose of going somewhere:

- (3.37) Éétó àkā-nì **shōlō-sī** hām-dif-ē-r.
 lion.m water-GEN.f seek.VN-in go-PROG-3m-NML
 ‘Lion was going in order to look for water.’
- (3.38) ...bār gābā wědèy kóon-níkī wědèy **sūr-ū-sī** hām-à-nā wònāa-s-ō
 3sf market or relative.m-at.m or sing-VN-in go-IRR-3 date-DEF-ACC.f
 àrì-fāa-t...
 know-SEQ.M-SS
 ‘...he knows the time when she would go to the market, to her relatives or to the festivities (lit.: to the singing)...’

Adessive

The adessive is used to convey the location near a person or at a place as well as the movement towards it. The second, allative, meaning seems to be more frequent and is present in ex. (3.39) - (3.41); cf. also ex (3.18) above for an indefinite masculine form.

- (3.39) **Gaalō-s-kī=tū** wàagè-f-ē-wà.
 Oromo.m-DEF-at=FOC trade-IPFV-3POL-ADR.m
 ‘They sold them to the Oromo.’
- (3.40) Bār **kòdà-s-kī** hāmì.
 3sm chair-DEF-at go
 ‘He went to the chair.’

3. The noun phrase

The adessive—like the accusative—has a special polite form *-tī*, occurring after the politeness suffix *-no* (cf. section 3.2.2 above):

- (3.41) *Bàrikì'ō-nò mèrì: “Nittō éetō-nó-tī hàmm-à kòotàa-s-ō mà-r-à*
 3pf-ACC.f advise 2p lion.m-POL-at go.CV-F banquet-DEF-ACC.f eat.F-CV-F
ússh-à gāwī-r-à zàyè-f-ē dī kābāa-s-īk
 drink.CV-F be.satiated-CV-F get.drunk-IPFV-3POL sit time-DEF-LOC.f
 ‘He advised them: “When you go to Lion’s eat the meal, drink, be satiated,
 and when he is drunk...”’

The adessive assumes other functions as well. For example, it can express a possessive relationship:

- (3.42) *Bǎr-kī òtmà fà-r.*
 3sm-at richness be.there.3f-NML
 ‘He is rich.’ (lit. ‘Richness is at him.’)

When an adessive meaning is conveyed, i.e. no movement is included, the adessive marker is suffixed to the item located, not the location, which is different from the other local cases. The sentences in the following examples are semantically equivalent.

- (3.43) *Bǎr-kī hòspìtālī. / Bǎr hòspìtālī=tū fè.*
 3sm-at hospital 3sm hospital=FOC be.there.3m
 ‘He is at the hospital.’

-kī in this construction is certainly related to the locative attributive suffix¹⁴. Unlike the latter, however, it is used in predicative, not attributive constructions and is inflected for gender. This is exemplified by the masculine indefinite form in the following example:

- (3.44) *Dòoktèrì-s-ā-kìtò-níkī hòspìtālī.*
 doctor-DEF-GEN.m-PL.m-at.m hospital
 ‘The doctors are at the hospital.’

There seems to be a semantic nuance between a locative construction with or without the adessive suffix: the sentence with the adessive suffix *-kī* (3.46) has the connotation that the clothes have their special place where they should be, so that there is some presupposed knowledge about a place.

- (3.45) *Mâyà-s-ī-kìtò āy fà?*
 clothes-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f where be.there.3f
 ‘Where are the clothes?’

¹⁴ An example of the locative attributive suffix:

Àkā-s-sī-kī shígnā-s kési.
 river-DEF-in-ATTR_{LOC} crocodile-DEF exit/ascend
 ‘The crocodile in the river came out.’

- (3.46) *Màyà-s-ī-kitō-kī āy-mbà?*
 clothes-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f-at.f where-FOC_Q
 ‘Where are (is the place of) the clothes?’

Ablative

The ablative is used for the movement away from a person, object or place. Generally, the ablative is used with nouns considered as place names or inherently locative nouns like *gàbā* ‘at/to market’ (ex. (3.47)) or *kèer* ‘at/to house’.

- (3.47) *Kàwō-kàwō=tū gābā-n wàag-sè-f-ē.*
 salt-salt=FOC market-ABL buy/sell-PL-IPFV-3POL
 ‘Salt is the only thing they buy from the market.’

With other nouns either the inessive, the superessive, or the adessive case suffix is added before the ablative suffix to yield an elative, delative or ablative meaning. See examples (ex. (3.48)), (ex. (3.49)) and (ex. (3.50)), respectively.

- (3.48) *...Āfi-nī kúshū-s-sī-n gachūwāa-s-ō èp’-ē táar’-ē bùlé-f-ēn...*
 A.-GEN.m hand-DEF-in-ABL ox-DEF-ACC.f take[.CV]-M tie[.CV]-M plough-IPFV-DS.3
 ‘...takes the ox from Afi’s hand], ties it (to the yoke) and ploughs...’
- (3.49) *Gēyāa-s-tā-n kès-sì-nā-nnēen òrfō sòsòrūu-s-īk dùkì-r-à*
 fire-DEF-on-ABL exit/ascend-CAUS-3-TEMP₁ after stirrer-DEF-LOC.f dip-CV-F
bècchì-r-à bīi-n: kàwō-bà àa-fā.
 taste-CV-F see.3-DS salt-3fPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘After she had taken it from the fire she dipped the (lit.: with the) stirrer into it and tasted (lit.: and saw): there was no salt.’
- (3.50) *Gàalǝ-s-kī-n èp’-ē óomā dīmā wàagè-f-ē ká.*
 Oromo.m-DEF-at-ABL take[.CV]-M other.f place buy/sell-IPFV-3m PART
 ‘Of course they took them from the Oromo and sold them elsewhere.’

The adessive suffix intervenes before the ablative suffix most typically if the source is a person, but also if it is a big animal.

The ablative after the inessive suffix also conveys a meaning of separation (ex. (3.51)) or superlative degree (ex. (3.52)):

- (3.51) *Tá fīzō-sī-n fānt ũ-s-ō kòrīn.*
 1s goat-in-ABL sheep-DEF-ACC.f separate.1s
 ‘I separated the sheep from (the) goats.’
- (3.52) *Sháy-sī-n hán-bàr káar’ā.*
 tea-in-ABL DEM-3sf sweet.f
 ‘This is the best tea.’ (lit. ‘From the tea(s) this one is sweet.’)

3. The noun phrase

The ablative suffix conveys a further meaning when added after a noun with a genitive/possessive and an inessive suffix. In such cases it denotes an item out of a set, as in the next example:

- (3.53) *Ās ūu-s-ā-sī-n* *Ābā Wàají=tú yè-r-ē* *kititténó*
 man-DEF-GEN.m-in-ABL A. W.=FOC come.M-CV-M die.m.NML.but.m
hàn-kī *àsūu* *yèet-ùk=tú* *kiti-r-ē* *kò'ì, Āddis Ābā.*
 DEM-ATTR_{LOC} man.DEF down.there-LOC.f=FOC die-CV-M finish Addis Ababa
 ‘From those men only Aba Waaji came back and died here, but the other men died down there, in Addis Ababa.’

The combination of the superessive with the ablative is used to mark the standard in comparative constructions:

- (3.54) *Ītyòp'iyá-nì* *būnā óomā dàa-s-ī* *būn-tā-n*
 Ethiopia-GEN.f coffee other.f ground/country-DEF-GEN.f coffee-on-ABL
mā'ā-r-wà.
 good.f-NML-ADR.m
 ‘Ethiopian coffee is better than the coffee of the other countries.’

Perlative

The perlative meaning is conveyed by the suffix *-kámó*:

- (3.55) *Gāfki-tē-n* *yè-r-ē* *bàas sīr-kámó [...]* *sīrè-sīrè Kār-wà-kámó hān*
 let.go-3POL-DS come.M-CV-M 3sPOL into-PER into-into K.-PER DEM
Māngshā yè-tē.
 M. come.M-3POL
 ‘He_i let it go, then he_j came secretly via Karwa to Mangsha.’

In this sentence, there is also the combination *sīr-kámó* ‘into-PER’ that yields the meaning ‘secretly’.

Spatial relations expressed by postpositions

More specific spatial relations may also be expressed by means of postpositions. These postpositions are nouns and form a genitive construction with the noun that denotes the ground (cf. also *gànyēā* ‘between’ in ex. (3.35) above):

- (3.56) *Bār bàrì* *àbāa-s-ā* *tēshā hām-dīf-à.*
 3sf 3sfPOSS father-DEF-GEN.m side go-PROG-3f
 ‘She is walking beside her father.’
- (3.57) *Bār bàrì* *àbāa-s-ā* *sīnā hām-dīf-à.*
 3sf 3sfPOSS father-DEF-GEN.m front go-PROG-3f
 ‘She is walking in front of her father.’

- (3.58) *Dùp-ō-nì dīmāa-s-tā kár'-f-ēnà kābāa-s-ik isà i'ō-nì diyà*
 hunt-VN-GEN.f place-DEF-on reach-IPFV-3m time-DEF-LOC.f one tree-GEN.f bottom
gālā-bāa-s-ēwā mǎy-bāa-s-ē óossí-r-ē
 lunch-3mPOSS.f-DEF-and.f clothes-3mPOSS.f-DEF-and.f entrust-CV-M
kùn-s-āa-t...
 lie-CAUS-SEQ.M-SS
 ‘When they have reached the hunting place, they lay down their lunch and their clothes under a tree;’

3.3.4. Comitative

Comitative meaning is expressed by *-nēen/-néen*:

- (3.59) *Zōmō-bēsì-nēen=tú¹⁵ wòllě-t kàssě-t gě'-ē*
 friend-3POL.POSS-COMIT.f=FOC talk.M-SS play.M-SS be.proud[.CV]-M
fě-f-ē.
 live.3m-IPFV-3POL
 ‘She chats with her friends and is proud.’

The comitative suffix may assume a temporal meaning when used with the demonstratives *és* or *hān* and the adverbs *òrfō* ‘after’ or *ékálō* ‘there’:

- és-séen òrfō* ‘after that’
hān-néen ékálō ‘from then’

3.3.5. Coordinative

Coordinative case markers are used in nominal coordination, whereby the long variant *-nāwā/-nēwā* is used on the first noun or pronoun and the short variant *-nā/-nē* on the second. The vowel variation marks gender: *-nā(wā)* is suffixed to masculine (pro)nouns, *-nē(wā)* to feminine ones.

The coordinative suffixes may occur with high and rising tone after low tone, e.g. *àamà-nēwā* ‘and (a) mountain(s)’. However, this process (described as RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE in section 2.6.3) does not apply in a consistent manner.

- (3.60) *Ìzgin mājā-nāwā isà éetó-nā mèrik-sè-r-ē dùpō-sī hām-è-tē.*
 nine hyena.m-and.m one lion.m-and.m discuss-PL-CV-M hunt.VN-in go-PL-3POL
 ‘Nine hyenas and one lion decided to go hunting.’
- (3.61) *Nāwāa-s-sēwā nāa-s-sā bīi-r-ē āané àr-sè-f-ē.*
 girl-DEF-and.f boy-DEF-and.m see-CV-M NEG know-PL-IPFV-3POL
 ‘The girl and the boy do not see and know each other.’

¹⁵ The high tone of the suffix spreads rightwards onto the toneless clitic *=tu* in this example, according to the rule RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE discussed in section 2.6.3 above.

3. The noun phrase

Other case markers are possible before the coordinative suffix. In the next example, locative marking occurs before coordinative marking¹⁶:

- (3.62) *Ûtō-s dèy kòot-tè-nā-y fī'ā-nī kàap-tō-k-nāwā*
 sauce-DEF TOP cook-PASS-3-DEF lentil-GEN.f grind-PASS.VN-LOC.f-and.m
háttū-nī būwā-k-nā=tū [būwā-k-ìn=tū] kòot-tè.
 pea-GEN.f flour-LOC.f-and.m=FOC cook-PASS
 'When the sauce was cooked it was cooked with ground lentils and pea flour.'

In lexicalised expressions such as *èp'-nē gírù-nē* 'wedding' (lit. 'taking and entering'), -wā is omitted.

It may seem uncommon to call a suffix used in coordination a 'case'. The main reason to call it a 'case' is that it parallels other cases in its use on nominals and its inflection for gender. The latter was also the reason for not treating it as a clitic—thereby treating it differently from the Amharic coordinative clitic =*na*, for instance. The possibility that it may occur after other case suffixes is no counterargument, since e.g. spatial case suffixes may occur in combination as well (cf. table 3.6 above).

3.3.6. Similative

Similative 1

The similative 1 is used both for quantitative (ex. (3.63)) and qualitative (ex. (3.64)) similarity. Sentence (3.63) shows the definite variant -(y)sē; sentence (3.64) shows the indefinite variant -nē:

- (3.63) *Nè-ys-ē fē nā-tā fě-r./ Nè-ys-ē*
 2sPOSS-DEF-like be.there.3m boy-1sPOSS.m be.there.3m-NML 2sPOSS-DEF-like
*fā nānā fā-r.*¹⁷
 be.there.3f girl.my.f be.there.3f-NML
 'I have a child of the same age/size as yours (lit.: a child like yours).'
- (3.64) *Kāt-bāa-s zàarmò-nī kàtā-nē fā-r.*
 belly-3mPOSS.f-DEF wasp.m-GEN.m belly-like be.there.3f-NML
 'His belly is like a wasp's belly.'

Similative 2

The similative 2 is a combination of a genitive suffix and -*mātó*. Often, it is best translated as 'according to', but on a substantive denoting a human referent it can also mean 'as someone does'.

¹⁶ It is not clear to me why the masculine form of the coordinative suffix was chosen in this example.

¹⁷ It seems that the low tone of *nē* is taken over by the suffix -*ysē*. The mid tone of *fē* in the masculine and -*ysē* in the feminine variant is explained by the application of the tonal rule DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, described in section 2.6.3.

- (3.65) *És àjǎjī-s-ī-mātó gònyō-s-ī-kì'ō*
 DEM order[ORO]-DEF-GEN.f-like wild.animal-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f
àrgā-bā=àrgā-bāa-s-īk hāmm-à éetó-nó-tī mām̄sì-r-à
 turn-3fPOSS.f=turn-3fPOSS.f-DEF-LOC.f go.CV-F lion.m-POL-ACC_{POL} ask-CV-F
kò'ì.
 finish
 ‘According to that order, the animals had gone to visit Lion one by one.’
- (3.66) *...bār-nēen [bānnēen] mèrkè-r-à hóossí-nī-nnēen*
 3sf-COMIT discuss-CV-F get.ready.CAUS-1p-TEMP₁
kristàná-nī-mātó Hā'ō-nì fàk'ādī shūip'é-nī.
 Christian.m-GEN.m-like God-GEN.f permission[AMH] demand-1p
 ‘I discussed with her and when we were ready we asked for God’s permission as Christians (do).’

Instead of a separate case, *-mātó* could be regarded as a postposition, since it parallels constructions like *ì'ō-nì diyà* ‘bottom of tree’ treated in section 3.3.3 above. Unlike other postpositions, however, it has no separate lexical meaning, and on dependent verb forms it also occurs without the intervention of a genitive case suffix in its complementising function (cf. section 8.14 below). These facts point to a further grammaticalisation compared to the other postpositions, which still occur as nouns.

3.4. Pronouns

3.4.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are, like nouns, used as heads of noun phrases and are thus marked for case (cf. section 3.3 above). In most cases, they (i.e. the nominative pronouns) take the same case suffixes as nouns. In the accusative and the locative, however, there are some deviations, shown in table 3.7. For ease of comparison, the possessive pronouns are shown in the same table.

The 3rd person plural pronouns *bàrikìtō* and *bāsākìtò* are composed forms: They are regular plural forms of the 3rd person singular pronouns *bār* (f) and *bār* (m), respectively. As described in section 3.2.1 above, the plural is formed from a genitive of a noun and the suffix *-kitō/kitò*. In the case of the pronouns, the possessive pronoun is used instead of a genitive.

In the 2nd person singular, there is a special endearment pronoun (cf. section 1.2.4 above).

In the accusative, the suffixes *-n*, *-(n)ò(n)*, *-ī(n)* or *-tī(n)* are attached to the pronouns. In the 1st and 2nd person singular, there is a tonal change in addition. All these suffixes except for *-n* occur as accusative markers on nouns as well (cf. section 3.3 above). The final *-n* is optional in all but the 1st person singular and the 2nd person

3. The noun phrase

	NOM	ACC	LOC	POSS
1s	<i>tá</i>	<i>tà-n</i>	<i>tà-k</i>	<i>tà</i>
2s	<i>ně</i>	<i>nè-n</i>	<i>nè-k</i>	<i>nè</i>
2sEND	<i>nĩt</i>	<i>nĩt-ĩ(n)</i>	<i>nĩt-ĩk</i>	<i>nĩt-ĩ</i>
2sPOL	<i>nì</i>	<i>nì-n</i>	<i>nì-k</i>	<i>nì</i>
3sf	<i>bàr</i>	<i>bàr-ò(n)</i>	<i>bàr-ĩk</i>	<i>bàr-ì</i>
3sm	<i>bǎr</i>	<i>bǎr-ĩ(n)</i>	<i>bǎr-ĩk</i>	<i>bǎ-sā</i>
3sPOL	<i>bàas</i>	<i>bàas-ì(n)</i>	<i>bàas-ĩk</i>	<i>bàas-ì</i>
1p	<i>innò</i>	<i>innò-tĩ(n)</i>	<i>innò-k</i>	<i>innò</i>
2p	<i>nittó</i>	<i>nittó-tĩ(n)</i>	<i>nittó-k</i>	<i>nittó</i>
2pPOL	<i>nĩnò</i>	<i>nĩnò-tĩ(n)</i>	<i>nĩnò-k</i>	<i>nĩnò</i>
3pf	<i>bàrikìtō</i>	<i>bàrikìtō-nò(n)</i>	<i>bàrikìtō-k</i>	<i>bàrikìtō-nì</i>
3pm	<i>bāsākìtò</i>	<i>bāsākìtò-nĩ(n)</i>	<i>bāsākìtò-k</i>	<i>bāsākìtò-nĩ</i>
3pPOL	<i>bàassò</i>	<i>bàassò-tĩ(n)</i>	<i>bàassò-k</i>	<i>bàassò</i>

Table 3.7.: Personal and possessive pronouns

singular non-polite and polite. The initial *n-* of the accusative suffix used on nouns *-ni(n)/-no(n)* is missing on the pronouns of the 3rd person except for the 3rd person plural forms. The suffix *-tĩ(n)* is used on all plural pronouns except for the composed ones, *bàrikìtō-nò(n)* and *bāsākìtò-nĩ(n)*. On nouns, it marks the polite form of the accusative (and of other cases as well, cf. section 3.3 above).

In the locative, the tones show some idiosyncrasies in that the rising or high tone that belongs to the definite locative suffix occurs on some of the pronouns, but not on all of them.

3.4.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed from the nominative personal pronouns mostly by a tonal change. Only some of the possessive pronouns are formed by suffixing the genitive marker: the 3rd persons except for the 3rd person plural polite.

The comparison of the three 3rd person singular pronouns shows that with *bǎ-sā*, the definite masculine genitive suffix *-sā* is used, while with *bàr-ì* and *bàas-ì* it is the indefinite feminine genitive suffix *-nì*. In the former case, the morphophonological change involved is the total assimilation of /r/ to a following alveolar consonant, while in the latter, there is a total assimilation of /n/ to preceding /s/, and, idiosyncratically, to /r/ (for an overview of morphophonological rules see section 2.4 above).

The possessive pronouns *innò*, *nĩnò*, *bàassò*, *nittó* and *nì* are identical to the corresponding personal pronouns in the nominative. Following the tonal rule ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID (described in section 2.6.3 above), the first three may occur as *innō*, *nĩnō* and *bàassō* before a possessed noun with initial low tone (e.g. *innō* in ex. (3.67) below).

The following sentence contains two possessive pronouns:

- (3.67) “*Hàwng-něen ékálō innō mǎshkā nàwàa-s-ō nittó àtk’à*
 today-COMIT after our female girl-DEF-ACC.f 2p[.POSS] male
nàa-s-ík òot-ù-tì.”
 boy-DEF-LOC.m cause.to.get.married-IRR-2p
 ‘ “Starting from today you will make our daughters get married to your sons.” ’

Of the two strategies to indicate pronominal possession or association, possessive suffixes (see section 3.2.3 above) are preferred to possessive pronouns in unmarked discourse contexts. Possessive pronouns seem to be chosen if one wants to be more explicit. Often, when talking to me, people preferred the possessive pronouns, especially when they had to repeat a sentence.

3.5. Demonstratives

Yemsa has the following demonstratives:

<i>hān</i>	proximal
<i>ék, éek</i>	distal; invisible
<i>yés</i>	distal; visible/ beyond
<i>dēn</i>	located higher
<i>yèet</i>	located lower
<i>és</i>	anaphoric

All these demonstratives may be placed as modifiers before a definite-marked noun or a 3rd person pronoun:

<i>hān dàas</i>	‘this country’
<i>hānbàr, hāmbà</i>	‘this one’
<i>és máamāas</i>	‘those clothes’ (pre-mentioned)
<i>ésbàr</i>	‘that one (f.)’ (pre-mentioned)
<i>ék kèyàas</i>	‘that house’
<i>yés kèyàas</i>	‘that house over there’
<i>dēn kèyàas</i>	‘the upper house’
<i>yèet kèyàas</i>	‘the lower house’

The demonstratives related to altitude of location, *dēn* and *yèet*, are also used as adverbs ‘up, above’ and ‘down, below’.

The two variants of the distal invisible demonstrative, *ék* and *éek*, seem to convey a difference in distance; *éek* is used for more remote items. *yés* is used (as my informant Nigatu Gebresilaase put it) ‘if one has to cross a border’, i.e. if there is a kind of barrier between the ego and the item pointed at, for example a river.

3. The noun phrase

The demonstratives *hān* and *és* may carry case suffixes in fixed expressions:

Comitative	<i>hān-néen</i> <i>ékālō</i>	‘after this’
	<i>és-séen</i> <i>òrfō</i> , <i>és-séen</i> <i>hànkālō</i>	‘after that’
Superessive	<i>hān-tā</i>	‘here’ (DEM-on)
Superessive, locative	<i>és-tā-k</i>	‘there’ (DEM-on-LOC.f)
Superessive, ablative	<i>és-tā-n</i>	‘then’ (DEM-on-ABL)

If used as pronouns, they can either be followed by the 3rd person pronoun (*hānbār*, *ésbār*, cf. above) or have the definite suffix as a nominaliser on them: *hān-íis* ‘this one’, *és-íis* ‘that one’.

While *és* is only used anaphorically (cf. ex. (3.68)), *hān* has both a situational and a discourse use. In texts, it is used cataphorically to introduce new, salient referents, as in ex. (3.69).

- (3.68) *Yèsũs shòwō àsù-néen isà ùgùn-tā hànm-f-ēnà kābāa-s-ík isā*
 Jesus many man-COMIT.m one road-on go-IPFV-3m time-DEF-LOC.f one
Zàkèõs-wā yī-tē kawn àsū fě-r. És àsũu-s
 Zacchaeus-ADR.m say-PASS short.m man be.there.3m-NML DEM man-DEF
*Yèsũs-nī bìyá-nā-k àkāmā-nòn kálté-t fě-r.*¹⁸
 Jesus-ACC.m see.IRR-3-LOC much-ADV yearn.M-SS be.there.3m-NML
 ‘At the time when Jesus was walking on a street with many men, there was a short man named Zacchaeus. This man was longing to see Jesus very much.’

- (3.69) *Hásh-hàung gaddō mǎllâtō àr-ù-nī. Hān gaddō mǎllâtōo-s-ō*
 now-today new sign[ORO] learn-IRR-1p DEM new sign[ORO]-DEF-ACC.f
àsũ-nī bǎr kārā zòodā-s-tā tìch-ù-nĩr.
 learn.CAUS.VN-GEN.m 3sm black board-DEF-on write-IRR-3mFUT.NML
 ‘Today we will learn a new letter. The teacher is going to write that new letter on the blackboard.’

While Cerulli (1938:45) has *(h)an* and *(h)eg* as demonstratives, Lamberti (1993:85) mentions *an*, *yes*, *ak* and *a*. As for *a*, it is rare in his data and probably a variant of *ak/ék* (in the only example he cites it occurs before a noun starting in *k*-); in my data, I have no evidence for it. Neither can I find tonally marked gender differences in the demonstratives, contrary to Lamberti (1993:85f). Schaumberger (MSa) has an additional demonstrative *dak* for ‘items close to hearer’, in opposition to *han*, which is used for ‘items close to speaker’. So far, I have not found this opposition in my data, but it needs to be re-checked.

¹⁸ The last syllables of *isā* and *àsū* are mid instead of low following the rule DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID (cf. section 2.6.3). Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be applied consistently, as the last syllable of *isā* before *ùgùn-tā* remains low.

3.6. Numerals

The numeral system of Yemsa is decimal¹⁹. The basic cardinal numerals are the following:

1	<i>isà/issòon</i>	6	<i>issūn</i>
2	<i>hèp</i>	7	<i>nàafūn</i>
3	<i>kèez</i>	8	<i>nàngìrìn</i>
4	<i>àchěech</i>	9	<i>izgìn</i>
5	<i>úuch</i>	10	<i>àsir</i>
100	<i>tīyā</i>	1000	<i>kūmā</i>

The numeral ‘one’ has two variants. *issòon* is used when counting in an abstract way, whereas *isà* is used in attributive function before a noun.²⁰

The tens are compounds of the numerals 2 to 9 and the numeral 10:

20	<i>hèp-àsir</i>
30	<i>kèez-àsir</i>
40	<i>àchěech-àsir</i>
50	<i>úuch-àsir</i>
60	<i>issūn-àsir</i>
70	<i>nàafūn-àsir</i>
80	<i>nàngn-àsir</i>
90	<i>izgìn-àsir</i>

The units between the tens are formed from the tens and the numerals 1 to 9. The formative *-è* seems to be a reflex of the masculine coordinative suffix *-nè*. The gemination of the last consonant does not occur regularly.

11	<i>àsirè-issè</i>
12	<i>àsirè-hèppè</i>
13	<i>àsirè-kèèzè</i>
14	<i>àsirè-àchěecche</i>
15	<i>àsirè-úucche</i>
16	<i>àsirè-issùne</i>
17	<i>àsirè-nàafùne</i>
18	<i>àsirè-nàngnè</i>
19	<i>àsirè-izgìnè</i>

¹⁹For the hypothesis that the numerals show signs of an earlier quintesimal system see Cerulli (1938:57f) and Lamberti (1993:136).

²⁰The numeral *àsir* is probably an Amharic loan, while *kūmā* may have its origin in Oromo. *tīyā* is said by Cerulli (1938:58) to have cognates in Ometo.

3. The noun phrase

Higher numerals are formed accordingly: thus, e.g. ‘forty-four’ is *àchěech-àsirè-àchěecchē*.

Compound numerals with ‘eight’ use the shorter form *-nàngn-* instead of *nàngìrìn-àsirè-nàngnè* ‘eighteen’, *nàngn-àsir* ‘eighty’.

tīyā ‘hundred’ loses its last syllable and takes *-rē* in compound numerals, i.e. *tī-rē*. An example is *isà-tīrēwā-hèp-āsirè* ‘one hundred and twenty’. In this example, the second part of the coordinative suffix, *-wā*, is added.

Ordinal numerals are formed from cardinal ones by adding *-sā*, which is identical to the definite masculine genitive suffix. Thus, we have *issòon-sā* ‘first’, *hèp-sā* ‘second’, *kées-sā* ‘third’. From my data, it is not clear how productive *-sā* is in forming ordinal numerals higher than ten.

3.7. Definiteness

3.7.1. Definite suffix

The definite marker is the suffix *-(y)s*. Most of the time however, *-y* leaves only a trace, namely the lengthening of the preceding vowel, or does not appear at all. Where there is no preceding vowel, a lengthened *i* appears before *-s*: *-iis*. Occasionally, *-y* appears without *-s*. These variations do not seem to entail functional differences. For better readability in the glosses *-s* is separated from the lengthened vowel even though the marker consists of both the vowel lengthening and the suffix.

The definite suffix is tonally gender-marked: in the masculine form, a high tone precedes *-s*.

The definite suffix is placed before possible case markers. Regular morphophonological processes take place between these suffixes. Table 3.8 provides examples with the accusative case. The genitive case is exceptional in that it has particular suffixes for the masculine and feminine definite form. The feminine definite form *-sī* differs also tonally from its indefinite counterpart *-nī*, whereas in the masculine form, the definite genitive suffix *-sā* is segmentally different from indefinite *-nī*.

‘woman’, ‘man’		NOM	ACC	GEN
fem	indef	<i>àsū</i>	<i>àsū-nōn</i>	<i>àsū-nī</i>
	def	<i>àsūus</i>	<i>àsūusōn</i>	<i>àsūusī</i>
masc	indef	<i>àsù</i>	<i>àsù-nīn</i>	<i>àsù-nī</i>
	def	<i>àsūus</i>	<i>àsūusīn</i>	<i>àsūu-sā</i>

Table 3.8.: definite marking

3.7.2. Uses of the definite suffix

The following characterisation of definite functions is based on the taxonomy in Fraurud (2001) and Hawkins (1978).

Direct anaphoric use

The referent marked by the definite suffix is introduced in the preceding discourse. In the following example we see that the first mention of the ‘elders’, *kùr’ù-nī*, is indefinite, whereas the following instance, *kùr’ù-s*, is definite.

- (3.70) *És-séen òrfō năa-s-ā àbà nàwàa-s-ī àbà-níkī kùr’ù-nī*
 DEM-COMIT after boy-DEF-GEN.m father girl-DEF-GEN.f father-at.m elder.m-ACC.m
wòsì-r-ē mām̄sī-n; mà’í yī-tē-nnēen hānkālō gārō bīrrī-nēwā²¹
 send-CV-M ask.3-DS okay say-3POL-TEMP₁ after little money-and.f
bèer’ò-nē kùr’ù-s èp’-ē tàamm-ē yèetō-nì dìyà
 axe-and.f elder.m-DEF take.CV-M take.to.CV-M middle.pole-GEN.f bottom
kùn-sī-n;
 lie-CAUS.3-DS
 ‘After that the boy’s father sends elders to ask the girl’s father; after he has agreed the elders bring some money and an axe and place it at the bottom of the middle pole;’

Associative anaphoric use

In this use of the definite suffix it is not the definite-marked referent itself that has been previously introduced, but a referent closely associated with it. Typically, the definite-marked referent and the one introduced in the preceding part of discourse are in a part-whole relationship.

Thus, in the following example, a cow is introduced (even before the actual example sentence, thus making it clear to everyone what ex. (3.71a) refers to). In the following sentence, ‘meat’ (*àshāasōn*), which is a part of the anchor ‘cow’, is definite-marked even though the referent ‘meat’ itself has not been previously introduced.

- (3.71) a. *Wīis-tē-r-à yà-r-à shùk-tè.*
 steal-PASS-CV-F come.F-CV-F slaughter-PASS
 ‘It [the cow] was stolen and then slaughtered.’
 b. *Shùk-tè-nā kābā-k àsūu-s àshāa-s-ōn mē.*
 slaughter-PASS-3 time-LOC.f man-DEF meat-DEF-ACC.f eat.3m
 ‘When it had been slaughtered, the man ate the meat.’

²¹ The tones of *bīrrī* ‘money’ change to *bīrrī-* in this environment because two tonal rules apply: first, RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE as described in section 2.6.3 (leading to *bīrrī-nēwā*) and second, ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID (cf. section 2.6.3), leading to the mid tone on the first syllable.

3. The noun phrase

In the next example, the anchor is not referential as in the preceding one, but is represented by the imagined situation of the preceding part of discourse. This situation, introduced in sentence (3.72a), is a wedding. This allows the referents ‘boy’ and ‘girl’, *nãas-néen* and *nâwâas-néen*, to be definite-marked since they inseparably belong to the event of wedding.

- (3.72) a. *Hásh-hàwng-tī èp'-nē gírù-nē*
 now-today-ATTR_{TEMP} take-and.f enter-and.f
 ‘today’s wedding’
- b. ***Nãa-s-néen nâwâa-s-néen*** *shòwō dīm-tā ùp'è-r-ē wòllè-r-ē*
 boy-DEF-COMIT.m girl-DEF-COMIT.f many place-on meet-CV-M talk-CV-M
bàassò-tnā bàassò-tnā àr-ū-k...
 3pPOL-ACC.and.m 3pPOL-ACC.and.m know-VN-LOC.f
 ‘The boy and the girl meet in many places and talk in order to get to know each other...’

This use of the definite marker, where the anchor of the definite-marked referent is the situation, is very frequent. Another example:

- (3.73) *Dàa-s-tā tūjā tújj-ē hō'āa-s-ōn tùshì-r-ē*
 ground/country-DEF-on saliva spit.CV-M mud-DEF-ACC.f make.dough-CV-M
ǎaffā-s-sī tàk-āa-t "Hāmmà zàwà-s-sī
 eye.3mPOSS.f-DEF-in smear-SEQ.M-SS go.ADR.m hot.spring-DEF-in
màs-ò-wā" yĩ.
 wash.body-IRR-ADR.m say
 ‘He_i (Jesus) spit on the ground, made a dough of the mud, smeared it into his_j eye and said: “Go and wash yourself in the hot spring.” ’

Here, it is part of common knowledge that after spitting on the ground there will be some mud. Thus, the referent ‘mud’ (*hō'āasōn*) is anchored in the situation and definite.

Immediate situation use

In this use of definite marking, the definite-marked referent is present in the immediate situation in which the discourse takes place. Thus it need not be introduced further. Such a referent is *kà'ōosīn* ‘the monkey’ in the next example, which is present in the situation where Lion utters his intention.

- (3.74) “*Àkā ússh-à kēs-fāa-t=tū kà'ōo-s-īn mǔ-nā-wā*”
 water drink.CV-F exit/ascend-SEQ.F-SS=FOC monkey-DEF-ACC.m eat.IRR-1s-ADR.m
yī-r-ē éetó òod-f-ēnà kābāa-s-ĩk; (...)²²
 say-CV-M Lion.m wait-IPFV-3m time-DEF-LOC.f
 ‘“After drinking water I will eat the monkey”, said Lion while he was waiting. (...)’

Larger situation use

Referents that are part of a larger situation may also be definite-marked. In ex. (3.75) the larger situation, i.e. the anchor, is life on earth in general.

- (3.75) *Kùmāa-s-ōn, àamāa-s-ōn, ăafā-k bǐi-nā-ys-ō zùutìr-ē*
 hill-DEF-ACC.f mountain-DEF-ACC.f eye-LOC.f see-3-DEF-ACC.f all-M
Hā'ō-wā y-āa-t=tū bàr-ík shíip'ē-t fè-f-ē.
 God-ADR.m say-SEQ.M-SS=FOC 3sf-LOC.f pray.M-SS live.M-IPFV-3m
 'The hills, the mountains, everything visible they call 'God' and pray to it.'

3.7.3. Constructions that need the definite marker

In many cases, the use of the definite marker is determined by the construction. Thus, it generally occurs with demonstratives, possessed nouns, head nouns of relative clauses and inessive- and superessive-marked nouns.

Demonstratives

Demonstratives always occur with the definite marker (cf. also ex. (3.68) and (3.69) above):

- (3.76) *És bōzāa-s-ō hān dāa-s-tā-n [...]* èp'-āafē
 DEM slave-DEF-ACC.f DEM ground/country-DEF-on-ABL take-IT.M
wàagè-f-ē bǎr hásh kách'ē-bā āa-fá.
 buy/sell-IPFV-3m 3sm now clan-3mPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 'Now the clan of those who used to kidnap and trade the slaves from this country is not there anymore.'

Possessed nouns with possessive markers

Possessed nouns marked by possessive pronouns generally occur with the definite marker (cf. ex. (3.67) above).

Possessed nouns marked by possessive suffixes less regularly occur with the definite marker, which is present in (3.77), but not in (3.78):

- (3.77) *Àfi àbà-bāa-s-īn wòst-ō-k àrgàsí-r.*
 A. father-3mPOSS.m-DEF-ACC.m work-VN-LOC.f help.m-NML
 'Afi helps his father work.'
- (3.78) *Àbà-bā, íntō-bà dèy bàr-ò súuss-ē=tū kiitì-r-ē*
 father-3fPOSS.m mother-3fPOSS.f TOP 3sf-ACC.f bless.CV-M=FOC advise-CV-M
mā'ā-r-ík dìchì-sé-tē.
 good.f-NML-LOC.f grow.CAUS-PL-3POL
 'Her parents blessed, advised and brought her up in a good way.'

²² This example is repeated from ex. (1.22).

3. The noun phrase

Head nouns of relative or attributive constructions

Head nouns of relative or attributive constructions are generally marked as definite, as in the case of *kābāas-ĭk* ‘at the time’ and *túshāa* ‘injera’ in the following examples.

- (3.79) *Īsà mǎshkàsū ēwā wàashá-nā-k shōlē-f-ànà kābāa-s-ĭk wònà*
 one woman ensete harvest.IRR-3-PURP want-IPFV-3f time-DEF-LOC.f date
dù-sì-r-à, wòlkō-bāa-s-ĭ-kìtō-nòn, mǎshkā-r-òn,
 sit-CAUS-CV-F neighbour-3fPOSS.f-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f-ACC.f female-NML-ACC.f
àt’k’à-r-ĭn shíip’ē-f-à.
 male-NML-ACC.m ask-IPFV-3f
 ‘At the time a woman wants to harvest ensete she fixes a date and asks her neighbours, men and women.’

- (3.80) *Tàk ìm-tā túshāa mǎnggĩstī nèk ĭm-àw-ng-wè.*
 1s.LOC give-2s injera.DEF government[AMH] 2s.LOC give-OPT-3-ADR.f
 ‘May the government give you the injera you gave me.’

3.7.4. The definite marker as a nominaliser

The definite marker *-s* never cooccurs with the nominaliser *-r*; rather, it replaces it if the nominalised word is to be marked as definite.

In ex. (3.79) above the indefinite adjectives *mǎshkā-r-òn* ‘female ones’ and *àt’k’à-r-ĭn* ‘male ones’ are nominalised by *-r*. In ex. (3.81), *àt’k’à-yís* ‘the male ones’ is definite and not marked by *-r*.

- (3.81) *Àt’k’à-yís dèy dàadè-r-ē wòstō wòstè-sé-r.*
 male-DEF.m TOP work.together-CV-M work work-PL.m-NML
 ‘As for the men, they work in communal labour.’
- (3.82) *Īzgìn-ĭis-ō éetó-nó-k ĭm-é-fāa-t bàassō ĭzgìn sìn-à-nē*
 nine-DEF-ACC.f lion.m-POL-LOC give-PL-SEQ.M-SS 3pPOL nine become-VN-like
isà mīyā òpp’-ē kèebèsì hām-è-tē.
 one cow take.CV-M house.3POL.POSS go-PL-3POL
 ‘They gave the nine to Lion while they, being nine, took one cow and went home.’

A nominalisation through a definite suffix also occurs in cleft sentences such as the following:

- (3.83) *Ībē Yèm-nī tēsā yā-nāa-s Yèmēn yī-s-té dà-n.*
 earlier Y.-GEN.m clan come.F-3-DEF Y. say-CAUS-PASS ground/country-ABL
 ‘Long time ago Yem clans came from a country called Yemen.’ (Lit. ‘[The Yem clans came]_{NML} is from a country called Yemen.’)

3.7.5. Referents that are not definite-marked

Indefinites

Indefinite nouns are not definite-marked. Specific indefinite singular nouns typically occur with *isà* ‘one’ (cf. ex. (3.85)).

A referent that is mentioned for the first time in the discourse, and which is not anchored by either possibility presented in section 3.7.2 above, is never definite-marked.

- (3.84) *Hásh-hàwng gâddō mǎllâtō àr-ù-nī.*
 now-today new sign[ORO] learn-IRR-1p
 ‘Today we will learn a new letter.’

Such a referent may either be specific, as in (3.85), or non-specific, as in (3.86).

- (3.85) *Yèsūs shòwō àsù-néen isà ùgùn-tā hām-f-ēnà kābāa-s-īk isā*
 Jesus many man-COMIT.m one road-on go-IPFV-3m time-DEF-LOC.f one
*Zàkèōs-wā yī-tē kàwn àsū fě-r.*²³
 Zacchaeus-ADR.m say-PASS short.m man be.there.3m-NML
 ‘At the time when Jesus was walking on a street with many men, there was a short man named Zacchaeus.’

- (3.86) *Zēemm-à tá àsū èp’-à-nā-k shólé-n.*
 first-F 1s woman take-IRR-1s-PURP want-1s
 ‘First I wanted to take a wife.’

Generic

Generic nouns are neither definite-marked, nor do they cooccur with the numeral *isà* ‘one’. The next example shows that even if a generic noun has attributes, which otherwise call for definite marking (cf. section 3.7.3), there is no definite marker.

- (3.87) *És-bā-k sìn=nū Gèmèlò-nī àwāas*²⁴ *āafā-k bīi-s-tē,*
 DEM-3fPOSS.m-LOC.f become=even G.-GEN.m god eye-LOC.f see-CAUS-PASS
ākā-sī kúní shígnā.
 water-in lie crocodile
 ‘The god of the Gemelo is even the visible crocodile living in the river.’

Inherently definite referents

Whereas some constructions that render the referent definite (like demonstratives, possessive and attributive or relative constructions) call for a definite marker (cf.

²³ This example is repeated from ex. (3.68) above.

²⁴ *àwāas* is not definite-marked, although its indefinite form looks definite with the lengthened vowel and the final -s.

3. The noun phrase

section 3.7.3 above), there are also inherently definite referents that are never definite-marked. This includes proper names (ex. (3.88)), inherently locative nouns (ex. (3.89)), personal pronouns (ex. (3.90)) and possessed nouns in genitive constructions (ex. (3.91)).

- (3.88) **Āfādū Āfi-nī** *ārki èet-bā.*
 A. A.-GEN.m elder sister-3mPOSS.f
 ‘Afadu is Afi’s elder sister.’

Inherently locative nouns are treated like proper names (i.e. place names), but are also similar to generics (on the similarity between proper names and generics see Lyons (1999:196ff)).

- (3.89) *Kāwō=kāwō=tū gābā-n* *wāag-sè-f-ē.*
 salt=salt=FOC market-ABL buy/sell-PL-IPFV-3POL
 ‘Salt is the only thing they buy from the market.’

- (3.90) **Bār** *kèer-kī* *bāassò-tīn àkāmā-nòn=tū àrgāsī-f-à.*
 3f house_{LOC}-ATTR_{LOC} 3pPOL-ACC much-ADV=FOC help-IPFV-3f
 ‘She helps her family a lot.’

The possessor in genitive constructions can be definite-marked or not, even if it is identifiable.

- (3.91) “*Hān i’ōo-s-ī* *gāanā-nò mù-nóy-tī-mātó [mùunóttīmātó]*
 DEM tree-DEF-GEN.f fruit-ACC.f eat.IRR-NEG-2p-like
kāl-t-ò-nó-sé?” *yī-n;*
 forbid-PASS-IRR-Q-ADR_Q.f say.3-DS
 ‘ “Is it forbidden for you to eat (lit.: lest you eat) the fruit of this tree?” it said;’

Incorporated nouns in chaining constructions

Incorporated nouns in chaining constructions are generally not definite-marked regardless of their identifiability.²⁵

- (3.92) *Ē’sō kún-dīmā-n kàbì-r-à kèyàa-s-sī fútī-r-à gīmā èpp’-à*
 morning lie-place-ABL get.up-CV-F house-DEF-in sweep-CV-F jar take.CV-F
hāmm-à àkā kít-t-à yà-r-à kèer-kī bāassök ùfēeshū
 go.CV-F water haul.water.CV-F come.F-CV-F house-ATTR_{LOC} 3pPOL.LOC breakfast
kòotè-r-à būnā étī-r-à mà-sì-r-à késs-à àlāk’ā kófkī-r-à
 cook-CV-F coffee boil-CV-F eat.F-CAUS-CV-F after-F calf let.loose-CV-F

²⁵ Note the exception of *dāas* in ex. 3.93. An explanation for the presence of a definite marker remains speculative. One possible reason is that without a definite marker *dā* would be recognised as a locative noun ‘on the ground’ (cf. section 3.7.5), which would be wrong in this context.

tānī-r-à sháabō shāabb-à dǎamō-s-sī gèd-nā-nnēen òrfō óomā
 let.suckle-CV-F milk milk.CV-F big.calabash-DEF-in put.into-3-TEMP₁ after other.f
*shòwō wòstō wòstè-f-à.*²⁶
 many work work-IPFV-3f

‘She gets up in the morning, sweeps the house, takes the jar, fetches water, prepares breakfast for her family, makes coffee, lets them eat, then lets the calf loose and lets it suckle, milks and pours (the milk) into the big calabash and does a lot of other work after this.’

- (3.93) ...*dàa-s bükúccē-r-à, dādā dǎd-tē-r-à,*
 ground/country-DEF clear.PASS-CV-F pole erect-PASS-CV-F
tòochō táatē-r-à, súkā òot-tè-r-à, yèetō
 [horizontal.pieces.of.wood] tie.PASS-CV-F doorsill tie-PASS-CV-F middle.pole
kàam-tè-r-à, bàwō gàak-tè-r-à, yèetō
 sharpen-PASS-CV-F [circle.on.top.of.the.roof] fix-PASS-CV-F middle.pole
òot-tè-nā-nnēen òrfō...
 tie-PASS-3-TEMP₁ after

‘...the floor is cleared, the poles are erected, the *toocho* are tied, the doorsill is inserted, the middle pole is sharpened and the *bawo* is fixed, and after the middle pole is inserted...’

²⁶ This example is repeated from ex. (3.34) above.

4. Verbal morphology

Yemsa has a rich variety of different verb forms to express (sometimes subtle) semantic differences. As it is a head-marking language, many categories can be expressed on the verb. This chapter addresses the formal, morphological side of the verbal system, while the functions of the different forms and suffixes will be taken up in the following chapters. The aim of presenting the verbal morphology in a chapter of its own is to allow the marking of categories that recur throughout the different verb forms to be treated at the same place. Thus, an overview of e.g. gender marking or negation strategies becomes possible even though they are not uniform and occur in different places of the verbal morphology. Furthermore, this chapter provides an overview of all the suffixes that occur on verbs.

Beginning with those located closest to the verbal root, all verbal suffixes are discussed. First, there are the stem vowels and the derivational suffixes. Since the stem vowels code a mood distinction (besides being indicators of verb class) mood is the next category described, followed by number, which can be expressed by a plural suffix after the stem. Mood and aspect suffixes, which are located between the stem and the person suffixes, are discussed next, before the categories of person and gender, both being manifest only in part of the verbal paradigms. After a person suffix, it is possible to attach a nominalising suffix to the main verb forms. Next, the specific additional suffixes of dependent verb forms are presented, followed by verbal strategies to code utterance types such as negation or interrogation. Finally, an overview of all dependent and main verb forms are provided.

4.1. Morphological verb classes and stem vowel

A verbal root consists of one, or infrequently two syllables. The last consonant is followed by a vowel (as with nominals, cf. section 3.1.1), which forms the verb stem together with the root. This stem vowel can have different qualities that assign a verb to one of three verb classes, the so-called *a*-, *o*- and *u*-classes.

The assignment of a verb to one of the verb classes is exclusively based on formal traits, i.e. the nature of the stem vowel. Passivised verbs belong to the *o*-class, causativised verbs to the *u*-class (cf. section 4.4 below); underived verbs occur in all verb classes.

The stem vowel alternates according to mood. In the irrealis stem it is *-a*, *-o* or *-u*. In the realis, this vowel is either elided (*a*-class), or changed to *-e* (*o*-class) or to *-i*

4. Verbal morphology

(u-class), cf. table 4.1. This basic rule may undergo modifications in some cases.

	Irrealis	Realis
a-class	-a	-∅
o-class	-o	-e
u-class	-u	-i

Table 4.1.: Stem vowel alternation

The morphology of realis and irrealis stems will be treated in more detail in section 4.5 below.

Lamberti (1993) deserves to be mentioned for describing the three morphological verb classes for the first time; Cerulli (1938) had only two with some confusion as to the occurrence of -o and -u.

4.2. Verbal noun formation

The verbal noun is built by suffixing the stem vowel -a, -o or -u to the verbal root—notably the same stem vowels as in the irrealis stem. However, the two forms differ in tone: whereas the irrealis stem vowel is toneless, the stem vowel of the verbal noun carries mid tone most of the time and affects the root tones in characteristic ways. Here, the processes are the same as in the nominal domain; the resulting tonal melodies are the same as on other feminine nouns (cf. section 3.1.1).

The tonal processes that apply in the formation of verbal nouns are exemplified in table 4.2 below. They were described in more detail in section 2.6.3.

Tonal process	Conditions	Verbal noun (example)
RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE	Toneless stem vowel	<i>hàm</i> + <i>a</i> → <i>hàmâ</i> ‘go’
	Two-syllable LH root with a closed second syllable	<i>gàlátt</i> + <i>ō</i> → <i>gàlǎttō</i> ‘thank’
	Two-syllable LH root with an open second syllable	<i>ìchím</i> + <i>ā</i> → <i>ìchīmā</i> ‘dry’
EMERGENCE OF LOW	Depressor first consonant and either long root vowel or non-depressor second consonant	<i>mák</i> + <i>ō</i> → <i>mǎkō</i> ‘tell’ <i>dáag</i> + <i>ō</i> → <i>dǎagō</i> ‘forget’
	Depressor second consonant followed by mid or low	<i>shól</i> + <i>ō</i> → <i>shōlō</i> ‘want’

Table 4.2.: Tonal processes in verbal noun formation

The verbal noun is the citation form of verbs.

There is one dependent verb form which is based on the verbal noun: the long verbal noun. It is formed by suffixing the locative case marker to the verbal noun. For its use see section 8.17.

4.3. Irregular verbs

Six verbs can count as irregular (cf. Lamberti (1993:207ff)). Five of them are monosyllabic, i.e. they consist of a single root consonant and a stem vowel only. The irregularity of the verb *bīyā* ‘see’ is of a slightly different nature. The irregular verbs with their verbal noun and 1st person plural simple forms are shown in table 4.3.

	Verbal noun	Simple 1 st pl.	
o-class	<i>fō</i>	<i>fā-nī</i>	‘be there, live’
	<i>yō</i>	<i>yā-nī</i>	‘come’
u-class	<i>mū</i>	<i>mā-nī</i>	‘eat’
	<i>dū</i>	<i>dī-nī</i>	‘sit’
	<i>wū</i>	<i>yī-nī</i>	‘say’
a-class	<i>bīyā</i>	<i>bīi-nī</i>	‘see’

Table 4.3.: Irregular verbs and their verb classes

Full paradigms of the irregular verbs are provided in the appendix (C). The following paragraphs are intended to give an overview of the irregularities on a general basis.

***fō* ‘be there, live’, *yō* ‘come’, *mū* ‘eat’** The vowel of these verbs does not behave according to the normal alternation in the realis, which would be *-o* to *-e* and *-u* to *-i*. Instead, the vowels in the realis forms underlie a distribution according to gender: *-e* in the masculine, *-a* in the feminine 3rd person forms. For the 3rd person polite the masculine form, for the 1st and 2nd persons it is the feminine one. This distinction does not occur in the irrealis, where the respective stem vowel appears throughout the paradigm. To exemplify this, 3rd person forms of both irrealis (here: future) and realis (here: simple) verb forms of both genders are given in table 4.4. The 1st person is included to show that it patterns with the 3rd person feminine, like all other 1st and 2nd person forms.

***dū* ‘sit’, *wū* ‘say’** Both verbs have regular alternations between *-u* in the verbal noun and the irrealis and *-i* in the realis forms, thus e.g. *dū-nā* ‘I will sit’ in the future and *dī-n* ‘I sat’, *dī* ‘he, she sat’ in the simple without gender distinction.

wū diverges from the other irregular verbs in vowel length: whereas one-syllable stems with an open syllable are phonetically lengthened as a sign of stress (e.g. /dū/

4. Verbal morphology

Verbal noun		Irrealis: future	Realis: simple	
<i>fō</i>	1s	<i>fó-nā</i>	<i>fā-n</i>	‘be there, live’
	3sf	<i>fó-nā</i>	<i>fā</i>	
	3sm	<i>fó-nā</i>	<i>fè</i>	
<i>yō</i>	1s	<i>yǒ-nā</i>	<i>yā-n</i>	‘come’
	3sf	<i>yǒ-nā</i>	<i>yā</i>	
	3sm	<i>yǒ-nā</i>	<i>yè</i>	
<i>mū</i>	1s	<i>mǔ-nā</i>	<i>mā-n</i>	‘eat’
	3sf	<i>mǔ-nā</i>	<i>mā</i>	
	3sm	<i>mǔ-nā</i>	<i>mě</i>	

Table 4.4.: Masculine and feminine forms of the irregular verbs *fō* ‘be there, live’, *yō* ‘come’, *mū* ‘eat’

→ [dū:] ‘sit’, /dīnī/ → [dī:nī] ‘we sat’, cf. section 2.5), with *wū* the vowels remain short: [yī-n] ‘I said’ (simple), [wū-nā] ‘I will say’ (future), [yī-r-à/ē] (general converb).¹ A possible reason for this behaviour is that this verb is never stressed, as it tends to occur with another verb of saying, e.g. *mākō* ‘tell’ or *māmsū* ‘ask’.

***bīyā* ‘see’** This verb is exceptional because of its second root consonant *y*, which alternates with \emptyset in certain environments (cf. section 2.1.6). It belongs to the a-class, where the stem vowel drops in the realis. For *bīyā*, this means that a possible suffix is attached to *bīy-*. /y/ leads to the lengthening of preceding /i/, resulting in forms such as the simple main verb *bī*, *bīi-n* ‘he/she saw, I saw’ or the general converb *bīi-r-à* (f.), *bīi-r-ē* (m.). The formation of this converb from a-class verbs normally comprises a gemination of the last stem consonant, as in *hāmm-à/ē*, the general converb of *hāmà* ‘go’.²

4.4. Valency-changing derivations

There are two productive valency-changing derivations: passivisation and causativisation. Basically, they work in opposite ways: whereas passivisation decreases the number of core participants, causativisation increases it. More comprehensive descriptions of the semantics of passive and causative stems, respectively, will be provided in chapter 5.

¹ The alternation of /j/ and /w/ in this verb is due to the neutralisation (and \emptyset realisation) of these approximants when they occur adjacent to vowels with a similar place of articulation, cf. section 2.1.6 above.

² For more details on the formation of the general converb, see section 8.2.

4.4.1. Passive -t

A passive stem is formed by suffixing *-t* to the verbal root; it automatically becomes part of the o-class, i.e. its stem vowel is *-ō* in the verbal noun (citation form).

Active verb (VN)	Passive verb (VN)
a. <i>kèp'-à</i> 'pick, collect'	<i>kèp'-t-ō</i> 'be picked, collected'
<i>àr-ū</i> 'know'	<i>àr-t-ō</i> 'be known'
b. <i>fēz-ū</i> 'split (wood)'	<i>fēs-t-ō</i> 'be split (wood)'
<i>gàag-à</i> 'fix'	<i>gàak-t-ō</i> 'be fixed' ³
<i>kàr'-à</i> 'cut'	<i>kàt-ō</i> 'be cut'
<i>ích-ā</i> 'hit'	<i>ícch-ō</i> 'be hit'
<i>òj-à</i> 'fence in'	<i>òch-ō</i> 'be fenced in'
<i>būu'-ā</i> 'cut (grass)'	<i>būuch-ō</i> 'be cut (grass)'

The examples under (b.) show morphophonological changes, as described in section 2.4 above. Some of these occur only in passive (and partly in causative) formation:

- Metathesis of /t/ and a preceding affricate (*ích-ā* → *ícch-ō*, *òj-à* → *òch-ō*)
- Total assimilation or change of /r'/ to /t/ (*kàr'-à* → *kàt-ō*)
- Metathesis and change of /ʔ/ before /s/ and /t/ (*būu'-ā* → *būuch-ō*)

4.4.2. Causative -s

A causative stem is formed by suffixing *-s* to the verbal root. All causative stems belong to the u-class, their stem vowel being *-ū* in the verbal noun.

Active verb (VN)	Causative verb (VN)
a. <i>hà'-ū</i> 'obey, be administered' ⁴	<i>hà'-s-ū</i> 'administer'
<i>kò'-à</i> 'come to an end'	<i>kò'-s-ū</i> 'finish'
<i>èel-à</i> 'run'	<i>èel-s-ū</i> 'make run, chase'
<i>kōp'-ō</i> 'give birth'	<i>kōp'-s-ū</i> 'help give birth'
<i>shōl-ō</i> 'want'	<i>shól-s-ū</i> 'be necessary'
b. <i>àr-ū</i> 'learn, get to know'	<i>às-s-ū</i> 'teach, inform'
<i>kùt-ū</i> 'walk'	<i>kùs-s-ū</i> 'let walk'
<i>wòst-ō</i> 'work'	<i>wòs-s-ū</i> 'make work'
<i>kàr'-à</i> 'cut'	<i>kàt-ū</i> 'have cut'
<i>dìch-à</i> 'grow'	<i>dìch-ū</i> 'make grow, bring up'

³ The exact meaning of this verb is 'to put something over something else and fix it'. This applies for instance to putting a ring on a finger, a hood over the head or to fixing the round center-piece of the roof on the central pole when building a traditional house.

4. Verbal morphology

<i>mì'-à</i>	‘laugh’	<i>mìch-ū</i>	‘make laugh’
<i>káss-ū</i>	‘bake’	<i>kásís-s-ū</i>	‘have baked’

The examples under (b.) show instances of morphophonological changes, as described in section 2.4 above. The following changes only occur in causative (and partly passive) formation:

- Total assimilation of /s/ to preceding /tʃ/ (*dìchà* → *dìch-ū*)
- Metathesis and change of /ʔ/ before /s/ and /t/ (*mì'à* → *mìch-ū*)

Causative -s as a verbalising suffix

Just as passive -*t* is sometimes used to form a middle verb from a noun (e.g. *kóontō* ‘be related’ from *kóon* ‘relative, kinsman’), the causative suffix -*s* is used to form transitive verbs from nouns (a.) or adjectives (b.):

Noun		Transitive verb (VN)	
a.	<i>àrgà</i>	‘collaborator’	<i>àrgà-s-ū</i> ‘help’
	<i>bōzā</i>	‘slave’	<i>bōs-s-ū</i> ‘enslave’
	<i>ālā</i>	‘lie’	<i>ālā-s-ū</i> ‘tell a lie’
	<i>àakimí</i>	‘doctor’ (< Amh.)	<i>àakām-s-ū</i> ‘cure’
	<i>èebbà</i>	‘blessing’ (< Oro.)	<i>èebbī-s-ū</i> ‘bless’
	<i>wèeddū</i>	‘song, chant’ (< Oro.)	<i>wèeddī-s-ū</i> ‘sing, chant’
Adjective		Transitive verb (VN)	
b.	<i>gàsàsā</i> (<i>f</i>), <i>gàsās</i> (<i>m</i>)	‘careful, attentive’	<i>gàsàs-ū</i> ‘pay attention’
	<i>kàwnà</i> (<i>f</i>), <i>kàwn</i> (<i>m</i>)	‘short’	<i>kàwùn-s-ū</i> ‘shorten’
	<i>àtē</i> (<i>f</i>), <i>àtè</i> (<i>m</i>)	‘younger’ (sibling)	<i>àtè-s-ū</i> ‘decrease, diminish’
	<i>shé’ā</i> (<i>f</i>), <i>shé’</i> (<i>m</i>)	‘red’	<i>ăafni shè’-is-ū</i> ‘be furious, enraged’ ⁵ (lit.: ‘making red of the eye’)

As can be seen from this list, denominal causative verbs are often formed from loan words. This happens when a noun is borrowed without a corresponding verb.

4.4.3. Passive and causative morphemes combined

It is possible to form a passive from a causative, but not a causative from a passive. When a passive is formed from a causative, the causative suffix -*s* and passive -*t* are combined. The order is always -*s-t* and not the other way round. Like simple

⁴ This verb has a second meaning: ‘spend the night’. The same polysemy is attested in various other Ethiopian languages, as pointed out in Hayward (1991), where common lexicalisation patterns in a Semitic (Amharic), a Cushitic (Oromo) and an Omotic (Gamo) language are discussed.

⁵ Although the tones are not the same on the adjective and on the causative verb, the informant N. G. explicitly connected them and gave the literal translation as provided here.

4.4. Valency-changing derivations

passives such verbs belong to the o-class, their verbal noun ending in $-\bar{o}$. However, the combination of causative and passive suffixes is restricted to a few verbs, and these are almost exclusively irregular ones. Table 4.6 provides an overview.

Active verb	Causative verb	Passive causative verb
$m\bar{u}$ ‘eat’	$m\grave{a}-s-\bar{u}$ ‘feed’	$m\grave{a}-s-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be fed’
$d\bar{u}$ ‘sit’	$d\grave{u}-s-\bar{u}$ ‘put’	$d\check{i}-s-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be put’
$w\bar{u}$ ‘say’	–	$y\check{i}-s-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be called’
$b\bar{i}y\bar{a}$ ‘see’	–	$b\check{i}i-s-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be seen’
$w\grave{o}'\bar{o}$ ‘mix’	$w\grave{o}'-s-\bar{u}$ ‘mix’	$w\grave{o}'-is-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be mixed’
$w\bar{i}'\bar{a}$ ‘weave’	$w\check{i}ch-\bar{u}$ ‘have sth. woven’	$w\check{i}cch-\bar{o}$ ‘be woven (by sb. else)’

Table 4.6.: Passive causative verbs

When comparing the stem vowels of the first two verbs we see that with $m\bar{u}$ ‘eat’ the causative is formed from the feminine realis form ($m\check{a}$ in 3sf simple), whereas with $d\bar{u}$ ‘sit’ it is formed from the irrealis or verbal noun ($d\check{u}$ in the imperative singular). The passive causative, however, is formed from the realis with both verbs.

The verbs $w\grave{o}'\bar{o}$ ‘mix’ and $w\bar{i}'\bar{a}$ ‘weave’ both have a glottal stop as their last stem consonant, but the causative is not formed in the same way in both cases. With $w\grave{o}'\bar{o}$ the glottal stop is retained and the causative suffix $-s$ is added after an epenthetic $-i$, whereas with $w\bar{i}'\bar{a}$ the glottal stop changes to $/tʃ/$.⁶ For this phenomenon I have no explanation at hand. As a consequence, it also affects the passive causative, following the morphophonological rules of passive formation formulated above, according to which a stem-final $/s/$ remains unchanged and $-t$ is added after it, but a stem-final $/tʃ/$ is geminated: $w\grave{o}'-is-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be mixed’, $w\check{i}cch-\bar{o}$ ‘be woven (by someone else)’.

Another possibility, following Lamberti (1993:171), is to analyse $-st$ as another passive marker besides $-t$. In most cases this is a valid alternative, because corresponding passive-marked verbs have not been found. In the case of $y\check{i}-s-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be called’ there is a passive-marked variant $y\check{i}-t-\bar{o}$ with the same meaning, which would support Lamberti’s (1993) analysis. On the other hand, $m\grave{a}-s-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be fed’ and $d\check{i}-s-t-\bar{o}$ ‘be put’ are clearly passives of the causative forms, not of the basic ones. For better understanding, more evidence is needed.

⁶ For other instances of different causative formations see above.

4. Verbal morphology

4.4.4. Deponent verbs

Deponents are verbs that occur as derived forms only, without a basic form. There are a number of them in Yemsa, as we already saw above. They include passive verbs with middle semantics⁷ or causative verbs derived from nouns. Some of them have a passive form only, others a causative form, and some are attested with either a passive or a causative suffix, but not without it.

Passive verb		Causative verb		Derived from noun
<i>káaritt-ō</i>	‘shave’ (itr.)	<i>káaríss-ū</i>	‘shave’ (tr.)	—
<i>ík-t-ō</i>	‘thirst’	<i>ík-s-ū</i>	‘make thirsty’	—
<i>wòlǔm-t-ō</i>	‘talk’	<i>wòlǔm-s-ū</i>	‘make talk’	—
<i>shō'-t-ō</i>	‘stand up’ (pol.)	—		—
<i>ík-t-ō</i>	‘be thirsty’	—		—
<i>màk-t-ō</i>	‘be hungry, starve’	—		—
<i>kèesh-t-ō</i>	‘love’	—		—
<i>òom-t-ō</i>	‘hate’	—		—
<i>mùch-ō</i>	‘come’ (roy.)	—		—
<i>ích-ō</i>	‘swim’	—		—
<i>shàf-t-ō</i>	‘pound grain/ coffee’	—		—
<i>wò'làn-t-ō</i>	‘catch’	—		—
<i>tìt-t-ō</i>	‘form web’	—		—
—		<i>bò'-s-ū</i>	‘boil’ (tr.)	—
—		<i>màm-s-ū</i>	‘ask’	—
—		<i>kúf-s-ū</i>	‘scrape out slightly’	—
—		<i>mùg-s-ū</i>	‘make sb. stoop’	—
—		<i>wòl-s-ū</i>	‘swell’	—
—		<i>zòon-s-ū</i>	‘lead’	—
—		<i>bòos-s-ū</i>	‘make grow’	—
—		<i>kàp'-s-ū</i>	‘pay a compliment’	—
—		<i>shér-s-ū</i>	‘cook enough’	—
—		<i>shìm-s-ū</i>	‘give trouble’	—
—		<i>nòos-s-ū</i>	‘soften (ensete leaf)’	—
—		<i>bòy-s-ū</i>	‘hang’	<i>bòysā</i> ‘hook, handle’
—		<i>tàk-s-ū</i>	‘clothe, cover’	<i>tākō</i> ‘blanket’
—		<i>bàl-s-ū</i>	‘spread sth. apart’	<i>bālō</i> ‘fork of a branch’
—		<i>àrgà-s-ū</i>	‘help’	<i>àrgà</i> ‘collaborator’
—		<i>kām-s-ū</i>	‘sharpen’	<i>kāmō</i> ‘tip’

⁷ Cf. also section 5.1.2 below.

4.4.5. Unproductive causative morphemes

In addition to *-s*, there are two other causative suffixes. However, they are not productive.

Causative *-k*

On some verbs, the causative suffix *-k* appears. Like causative *-s* it assigns the verb to the u-class. *-k* is not productive, and it does not appear on loan words, which suggests that it is older than *-s* and that *-s* has fully taken over its function of causativisation. *-k* has an allomorph *-g*. A voiced stem-final consonant—except /r/—is followed by *-g*. A voiceless stem-final consonant or /r/ is followed by *-k*. This morphophonological change only occurs in causative formation. The causative verbs in *-k* are listed in table 4.8.

Derivation base	Causative verb
<i>tàgù</i> ‘spread, expand’	<i>tàg-g-ū</i> ‘widen’
<i>zāgū</i> ‘be firm’	<i>zāg-g-ū</i> ‘tighten’
<i>kàbū</i> ‘stand up’	<i>kàb-g-ū</i> ‘lift up’
<i>tègà</i> ‘be higher’	<i>tèg-g-ū</i> ‘raise’
<i>zìgū</i> ‘fall down, drop’	<i>zìg-g-ū</i> ‘leak’
<i>wōlū</i> ‘return’	<i>wōl-g-ū</i> ‘give back, answer’
<i>fūlū</i> ‘break off’ (itr.)	<i>fūl-g-ū</i> ‘cut wood’
<i>kāyū</i> ‘grow, shoot’ (itr.)	<i>kāy-g-ū</i> ‘grow, produce’ (tr.)
<i>kōyū</i> ‘be dry’	<i>kōy-g-ū</i> ‘dry, drain’
<i>nàarū</i> ‘lick’	<i>nàr-k-ū</i> ‘stick out one’s tongue’
<i>tíshū</i> ‘disappear’	<i>tísh-k-ū</i> ‘extinguish’

Table 4.8.: Causative verbs in *-k*

In addition to these verbs, there are many verbs in *-k/-g* where the corresponding basic verb could not be determined and which are probably deponents, such as *gàfkū* ‘set free, divorce’ or *būggū* ‘break a rope’. These verbs are morphologically derived forms since the causative suffix *-k* can be identified. Furthermore, their meaning is transitive, which suggests that they are causative forms of a (yet unidentified) intransitive verb.

However, there are also verbs in *-kū* that are not transitive but rather body-related (and thus nearer to middle than to causative semantics): *mùggū* ‘stoop’, *kūygū* ‘drink’ (pol.), *chàafkū* ‘drink to the last drop’, *àrkū* ‘become big, exceed’, *fàrkū* ‘chat’, *kòrkū* ‘tremble’, *shórkū* ‘shake head’, but also *tùrkū* ‘become poor’.

4. Verbal morphology

Causative *-n(n)/-nny*

The suffix *-n/-nny* appears on some transitive verbs of the u-class. It is a causative morpheme used to form transitive verbs from nouns, adjectives or verbs. Its occurrences are rather rare and it is not productive. Unlike causative *-s* and *-k* it is not attached to the last stem consonant, but replaces it. Like *-s* and *-k*, on the other hand, it assigns a verb to the u-class. In table 4.9 the verbs in *-n-ū/-nny-ū* are shown with their corresponding verbs, nouns or adjectives. It should be noted that there are instances of transitive verbs with the suffix *-n(n)/-nny* in the lexicon that cannot be attributed to a corresponding word, such as *kòònū* ‘give birth’.

Derivation base	Causative verb
<i>tāmā</i> ‘suckle’	<i>tān-ū</i> ‘let suckle’
<i>chìmà</i> ‘be able’	<i>chìn-ū</i> ‘encourage’
<i>fīnā</i> ‘cross’	<i>fīn-ū</i> ‘cover a distance’
<i>kínā</i> ‘dirty’	<i>kín-ū</i> ‘make dirty’
<i>wū</i> ‘say’	<i>yīn-ū</i> ‘define’
<i>tònà</i> ‘light’ (n.)	<i>tòn-ū</i> ‘light’
<i>tùumà</i> ‘full’	<i>tùn-ū</i> ‘fill’
<i>káymā</i> ‘clean, holy’ (adj.)	<i>káyn-ū, káynny-ū</i> ‘clean’
<i>shàantū</i> ‘difficulty, poverty’ (n.)	<i>shàannny-ū</i> ‘suffer, become destitute’
<i>táar’ō</i> ‘fasten, buckle on’	<i>tàannny-ū</i> ‘bridle’
<i>fīr’ū</i> ‘scrape, peel with a knife’	<i>fīnnny-ū</i> ‘peel’
<i>būr’ā</i> ‘be harmed’	<i>bùnny-ū</i> ‘stir up’

Table 4.9.: Causative verbs in *-n(n)/-nny*

In some cases, the suffix *-n/-nny* not only forms a causative verb, but renders a specific meaning, as with *yīnū* ‘define’, *tàannnyū* ‘bridle’ and *fīnnnyū* ‘peel’. In these cases the corresponding verb is already transitive, and the suffix *-n/-nny* does not add a further participant. In the other cases, *-n* and *-nny* occur as allomorphs: *-n* replaces /m/ or /n/ as stem-final consonants, whereas *-nny* replaces /r/ or /nt/.⁸

⁸ There is a further verb with a suffix *-ny*: *ùnyū* ‘murmur’. It may be derived from the irregular verb *wū* ‘say’. In this case, *yīnū* ‘define’ and *ùnyū* ‘murmur’ both seem to be derived from *wū* ‘say’. This leads to the question whether the suffixes *-n* and *-ny* should be treated separately (note the non-gemination of *ny* in *ùnyū*). However, in *káynū*, *káynnyū* ‘clean’ they occur as free variants.

4.5. The basic mood distinction: realis and irrealis stems

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the stem vowel is used to distinguish realis from irrealis mood.⁹ Each of the three verb classes has its characteristic stem vowel in the irrealis and in the realis. The irrealis stem vowel corresponds to the stem vowel of the verbal noun (there is a tonal difference, though, since the irrealis stem vowel carries no inherent tone). An overview of the stem vowel alternations leading to the realis/irrealis distinction is provided in table 4.10.

	Realis: simple 1 st pl.	Irrealis: future 1 st pl.	Citation form
a-class	<i>hàm-nī</i>	<i>hàm-â-nī</i>	<i>hàm-â</i> ‘go’
o-class	<i>dùud-è-nī</i>	<i>dùud-ò-nī</i>	<i>dùud-ō</i> ‘try’
u-class	<i>wōlg-ī-nī</i>	<i>wōlg-ū-nī</i>	<i>wōlg-ū</i> ‘return’

Table 4.10.: Stem vowel alternation

Any given verb form is either based on the irrealis or on the realis stem, though a few are based on the bare root for morphological reasons. Table 4.11 shows how the different verb forms are assigned to the two basic moods, judging from the behaviour of the stem vowel.

The plural suffix *-e/-sé/-o/-só* agrees with the mood of the verb. *-e/-sé* appears on realis verb forms, while *-o/-só* appears on the irrealis forms, e.g.

Realis: *dùud-è-sé* ‘they tried’ (simple 3rd pl.)

Irrealis: *àané kàss-ù-só-é* ‘they (f) did not bake’ (negative simple 3rd pl. f.)

The general picture that emerges from table 4.11 is the following: verb forms that denote given facts take the realis stem vowel, whereas the ones that denote facts that have not happened (yet), like actions taking place in the future and negated actions, take the irrealis stem vowel. In one case, this distinction can even be used to differentiate verb forms that take the same temporal suffix *-nnēen*:

Realis: *kár’-nā-nnēen* ‘**when** I/he/she have/has reached’

⁹ For Schaumberger (MSa) this is an opposition of tense between future and non-future, but this conceptualisation does not grasp the differences precisely enough. A negative (built on the irrealis stem) is not a future tense, and even the future verb form itself is rather a mood, as argued in section 6.1.1 below. Tense as a category is not grammaticalised in Yemsa. Furthermore, Schaumberger (MSa) does not distinguish the ‘future’ from the verbal noun (‘basic form’), even though they are tonally different.

¹⁰ The construction of the optative, counterfactual obligative, sequential and iterative converb and conditional is possible from the realis stem + *f*-suffix or from the bare root, cf. also table 4.12 below.

4. Verbal morphology

	Realis	Irrealis
Main verb forms	Simple Imperfective (aff. & neg.) Progressive (aff. & neg.) f-marked optative ¹⁰ f-marked counterfactual obli- gative	Future Jussive/imperative Negated simple Negative future Prohibitive Interrogative future
Dependent verb forms	General CV Different subject CV Manner/simultaneous CV f-marked sequential CV (SS & DS) f/t-marked Iterative CV General quasi-CV Temporal (non-future events) Similative f-marked conditional Concessive Simple adnominal IPFV adnominal PROG adnominal	Negative CV Purposive (aff. & neg.) Irrealis temporal Negative conditional Future adnominal Negative adnominal

Table 4.11.: Assignment of verb forms to realis or irrealis

4.5. The basic mood distinction: realis and irrealis stems

Irrealis: *kár'-á-nā-nnēen* ‘until I/he/she reach(es)’

The verb *kár'ā* ‘reach’ belongs to the a-class, thus the stem vowel is zero in the realis and -a in the irrealis.

However, a closer look reveals that not every verb form behaves according to the dichotomy as characterised. First, as noted, there are verb forms which are based on the bare root and which are therefore not assignable to either the realis or irrealis domain. Semantically, some of them belong to the irrealis domain (e.g. the optative), others to the realis domain (e.g. the sequential converb), according to the realis/irrealis dichotomy as it is found with other verb forms. All of them have a suffix beginning with -a- that is placed directly after the root. Therefore I assume that the lack of the stem vowel is formally motivated in that the suffix overrides a possible stem vowel. As the mood-sensitive plural suffix appears in none of these forms, it cannot be used as a clue for determining the mood domain to which they belong. These verb forms are shown in table 4.12.

	Example	Cit.
Optative	<i>dùus-āw-ng</i> ‘may (s)he put’ put-OPT-3	<i>dùusū</i>
Counterfactual obligative	<i>wòst-āw-kē</i> ‘he should have worked’ work-COBL-3m	<i>wòstō</i>
Sequential converb	<i>kò's-āa-t</i> ‘(he) having finished’ finish-SEQ.M-SS	<i>kò'sū</i>
Iterative converb	<i>kùns-āaf-ē</i> ‘(he) keeping putting and...’ put-IT-M	<i>kùnsū</i>
Conditional	<i>kùns-āa-nā-nē</i> ‘if I/(s)he put(s) (it)’ put-SEQ-1s/3-COND	<i>kùnsū</i>

Table 4.12.: Verb forms without stem vowel

Second, all f-marked forms belong to the realis domain as a rule. Thus, e.g. the negated imperfective and the negative progressive have a realis stem as their base whereas the other negative forms are based on the irrealis. Likewise, the f-marked forms of those verb forms that have no stem vowel otherwise are based on the realis stem, e.g. optative, conditional and concessive. One reason why the f-marked forms require a realis stem might be that the suffix -f, which has an imperfective function on many verb forms, started out as attached to realis main verb forms. Table 4.13 shows examples of the discussed forms: the stem vowel which appears in the f-marked forms is the realis variant -e or -i, depending on the verb class.

Third, there are verb forms where the stem vowel appears only in part of the para-

¹¹ The concessive only occurs in f-marked form.

4. Verbal morphology

Verb form	Example	Cit.
Negative simple	<i>àané wàag-ô-t</i> ‘I did not buy/sell’	<i>wàagô</i>
IPFV	<i>àané ùp’-ê-f-àt</i> ‘I do not meet’	<i>ùp’ô</i>
PROG	<i>fàad-î-dí-f-ànàrtá</i> ‘I am not counting’	<i>fàadû</i>
Optative simple	<i>dùus-àwng</i> ‘may he put’	<i>dùusû</i>
f-marked	<i>hà’-î-f-àwtì</i> ‘may you (p) spend the night’	<i>hà’û</i>
Sequential CV simple	<i>kò’s-āat</i> ‘(he) having finished’	<i>kò’sû</i>
f-marked	<i>gìr-î-f-āat</i> ‘(we) having entered’	<i>gìrû</i>
Iterative CV simple	<i>kùns-áafē</i> ‘(he) keeping putting and...’	<i>kùnsû</i>
f-marked	<i>kùns-î-f-áafē</i> ‘(he) keeping putting and...’	<i>kùnsû</i>
Conditional simple	<i>kùns-àanānē</i> ‘if I put (it)’	<i>kùnsû</i>
f-marked	<i>kùns-î-f-áanānē</i> ‘if I put (it)’	<i>kùnsû</i>
Concessive ¹¹	<i>kùns-î-f-ànāk</i> ‘even if I put (it)’	<i>kùnsû</i>

Table 4.13.: *f*-marked verb forms: all realis

digm. For instance, in some o- and u-class forms the plural suffix *-sé/-só* overrides the stem vowel under certain phonological conditions (cf. section 4.6 below), as in *àané wàag-sô-ē* ‘they did not buy/sell’.

In certain a-class forms of the irrealis—besides the plural ones mentioned—the stem vowel does not appear, and the person suffix is directly attached to the last stem consonant, as shown in table 4.14. This behaviour contrasts with that of o- and u-class verbs, which are given in the same table for comparison.

We can gather from table 4.14 that in the a-class of the jussive/imperative the stem vowel only shows up in the 1st person singular.

4.6. Number marking

Plural is marked separately from person, by a dedicated morpheme in a different slot: *-e/-sé* (realis) and *-o/-só* (irrealis). It appears on the 2nd and 3rd persons of the plural of most verb forms. Exceptions are the forms where a suffix starting with *-a-* overrides the stem vowel—though not their *f*-marked counterparts, where a plural suffix may occur—and the manner converb: there, the plural suffix does not (normally) appear, and the same forms are used for singular and plural reference. In the 2nd person plural non-polite, there is some variation in the occurrence of the plural marker.

The non-occurrence of the plural marker in the 1st person plural is functionally transparent, since ‘we’ is technically not a plural of ‘I’, except when several people are talking at the same time, but rather ‘I+other’ (1st+2nd, 1st+3rd person), cf. Siewierska (2004:82).¹³

¹² The vowel *-u* in the 3rd person singular form *hâm-ù-n* is analysed as an epenthetic vowel.

¹³ It remains an open question whether similar functional differences influence the occurrence of the

Verb form		Example		Cit.
Future NML	3sf	<i>kūn-nīr</i>	‘she will lie down’	<i>kūnā</i>
		<i>wàag-ò-nīr</i>	‘she will trade’	<i>wàagō</i>
	3sm	<i>kūn-nīr</i>	‘he will lie down’	<i>kūnā</i>
		<i>wàag-ò-nīr</i>	‘he will trade’	<i>wàagō</i>
Jussive	3sf	<i>hām-ùn</i> ¹²	‘let her go’	<i>hāmā</i>
		<i>kè'-û-n</i>	‘let her punish’	<i>kè'û</i>
	3sm	<i>hām-ò</i>	‘let him go’	<i>hāmā</i>
		<i>kè'-û-wó</i>	‘let him punish’	<i>kè'û</i>
	3sPOL	<i>bòg-tó</i>	‘let him/her (pol.) tear down’	<i>bògā</i>
		<i>kè'-û-tó</i>	‘let him/her (pol.) punish’	<i>kè'û</i>
PROH	1s	<i>hām-nāatá</i>	‘do not let me go’	<i>hāmā</i>
		<i>káass-û-nāatá</i>	‘do not let me bake’	<i>káassû</i>
NEG PURP	1s/3	<i>ích-nöynāmātó</i>	‘lest I/he/she hit’	<i>íchā</i>
		<i>gìr-û-nöynāmātó</i>	‘lest I/he/she enter’	<i>gìrû</i>
	2s	<i>ích-nöytāmātó</i>	‘lest you (sg.) hit’	<i>íchā</i>
	3POL	<i>ích-nöytēmātó</i>	‘lest he/she (pol.) hit’	"
	1p	<i>ích-nöynīmātó</i>	‘lest we hit’	"
	2p	<i>ích-nöytīmātó</i>	‘lest you (pl.) hit’	"

Table 4.14.: Irrealis forms without stem vowel in the a-class

The slot of the plural suffix is directly after the verb stem. Consider, for example

3sPOL *kùnsì-fēk* ‘even though he/she (pol.) put(s) it’

3pPOL *kùnsì-sé-fēk* ‘even though they (pol.) put it’

In a-class verbs, the plural suffix appears without its initial *s* as *-e/-o* and is attached after the root (drop of the stem vowel); in the o- and u-class it appears as *-sé/-só*:

o-class: *dùudè-sé* ‘they tried’ (stem vowel *-e*; plural suffix *-sé*)

a-class: *hām-ê* ‘they went’ (no stem vowel; plural suffix *-e*)

However, as we have seen with a-class verbs, in o- and u-class verbs the stem vowel does not always occur either, depending on phonological properties: if the last consonant of the root is an alveolar plosive or /ɲ/ the stem vowel is maintained before the plural suffix. In all other cases the plural suffix is directly attached to the root; the stem vowel drops. Compare e.g. :

o-class, with stem vowel: *àaché-sé-tē* ‘they (pol.) hid’

plural marker in the 2nd person plural, i.e. 2nd+2nd vs. 2nd+3rd person.

4. Verbal morphology

u-class, with stem vowel: *tìchì-sé-tē* ‘they (pol.) wrote’

o-class, no stem vowel: *shól-sé-fē* ‘they (m./pol.) want/like’

u-class, no stem vowel: *wöl-sō-nēk, kàbùg-sè-fē* ‘they (m./pol.) stand up’

In the last example (*kàbùg-sè-fē* ‘they (m./pol.) stand up’) the drop of the stem vowel leads to the insertion of an epenthetic *u*. It occurs there because of phonotactics: the three subsequent consonants (*-bg-* of the root and *s-* of the plural suffix) need to be separated by an epenthetic vowel, since no more than two successive consonants are allowed (cf. section 2.4.4 above). Furthermore, the preferred variant seems to be the one with the open syllable first, then a closed one. Hence the form /kà.bùg.sè-/.¹⁴

Whereas *-sé/-só* carries a high tone, *-e/-o* is toneless and either takes over the tone of the preceding root vowel according to the rule RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE, or, if a high root syllable precedes and a low tone syllable follows it, *-e/-o* carries mid tone according to the rule LEFTWARDS DOWNSTEP OF HIGH.¹⁵

The high tone of *-sé/-só* is changed to mid under certain circumstances depending on the tone of the following syllable according to the rule LEFTWARDS DOWNSTEP OF HIGH (compare e.g. the feminine form *màké-sē-fāat* ‘having told (3pf)’ *zèennyì-sē-rà* ‘lead and... (f)’ to its masculine counterpart *màké-sé-fāat* ‘having told (3pm)’ *zèennyì-sé-rē* ‘lead and... (m)’ *wòtèséfē*, cf. also section 2.6.3.) If it replaces the stem vowel after a low root it becomes low, cf. *wàag-sè-fē* ‘they (m) buy/sell’.

The plural suffix is sometimes reduplicated, yielding *-(s)e-sé/-(s)o-só*. The conditions of reduplication remain to be examined. There is free variation involved at least in some cases. For example, the forms *sòol-sè-tī* and *sòol-sè-sé-tī* ‘you (p) exchanged’ (o-class) were listed as free variants. An example of the a-class are the variants *sòok-è* and *sòok-è-sé* ‘they lit the fire’.

4.7. Mood and aspect marking

Mood and aspect markers are of heterogeneous nature. They occur after the stem and a possible plural suffix. A dedicated suffix exists for the optative and counterfactual obligative moods and for the imperfective and progressive aspects. The future and jussive/imperative moods and the simple (perfective) aspect are distinguished by the set of person markers they take (cf. section 4.8.1 below) and are not discussed further here.

The formation and semantics of each mood and aspect will be treated separately in chapters 6.1 and 7 below. A brief overview of the involved suffixes is provided in table 4.15.

¹⁴ In the irrealis of the verb *kássū* ‘bake’ two variants are found: *káss-ú-só-* with the stem vowel, and the less common *kásús-só-* without the stem vowel but with an epenthetic *u*.

¹⁵ For a description of tonal processes see section 2.6.3 above.

4.7. Mood and aspect marking

Verb form	Suffix / Example
OPT	[ROOT] (+ [REAL] (+ [NUMB]) + <i>-f</i>) + <i>-āw/-āw</i> + [PERS] <i>īm-āw-ng</i> ‘may (s)he/I give’
COBL	[ROOT] (+ [REAL] (+ [NUMB]) + <i>-f</i>) + <i>-āwk</i> + [PERS] <i>wòst-āwk-ēnà</i> ‘if only I had worked’
IPFV	[REAL] (+ [NUMB]) + <i>-f</i> + [PERS] <i>hām-f-ē</i> ‘he goes’
PROG	[REAL] (+ [NUMB]) + <i>-díf</i> + [PERS] <i>hām-díf-ē</i> ‘he is going’

Table 4.15.: Mood and aspect suffixes

The optative and the counterfactual obligative are both marked by the suffix *-āw/-āw*; which is followed by *-k* in the COBL. They use characteristic person markers (cf. section 4.8.1 below).

In addition to its occurrence in the imperfective and progressive aspects, the suffix *-f* can occur on various other verb forms, such as the optative and counterfactual obligative moods and on various dependent forms (shown in table 4.17). However, these other forms often occur with meanings that are not related to aspect, as will be demonstrated in chapter 7.

In some of the *f*-marked forms an additional vowel *e* or *a* occurs at the beginning of the person suffix. This is the imperfective vowel, which seems to have been part of the *f*-suffix historically: the suffix *-f* derives from the verb *fō* ‘be there, live’¹⁶, of which *fā* is the feminine, *fè* the masculine 3s simple form. Synchronically, however, the imperfective vowel does not indicate gender, at least not on a systematic basis. In some of the *f*-marked verb forms, it is used to distinguish masculine and feminine gender in the 3rd person, with the same gender values for *-a/-e* as in its historical source. This is the case e.g. in the 3rd person of the IPFV realis main verb. In the other persons and person paradigms (like that of the IPFV DS converb) its choice is exclusively sensitive to person and partly conditioned by vowel harmony. That is to say, it is /a/ in the 1st and 2nd persons because the second vowel of the person suffix is /a/, and /e/ where the second vowel of the person suffix is /i/¹⁷. For this reason, I decided to treat it as a part of the person suffix in all its occurrences.

Nevertheless, in table 4.16 the imperfective vowels *-a* and *-e* are listed separately from the rest of the person suffixes to show their distributions in the different person marking paradigms. The person marking paradigms themselves are treated in section 4.8.1 below. Table 4.17 shows all possible *f*-marked verb forms with their simple counterparts. In the cases where the stem vowel is omitted in the simple form (such as in the optative, counterfactual obligative, the sequential and iterative converbs and

¹⁶ This and other irregular verbs are treated under 4.3.

¹⁷ Cf. section 2.4.1 above.

4. Verbal morphology

	f-marked (main and dep.; NML)	NEG IPFV	DS IPFV
1s	-à	-à	-à
2s	-à	-é	-ē
1p, 2p/END, 2POL	-è	-è	-è
3f	-à	-ā	-ē
3m, 3POL	-ē	-ē	-ē

Table 4.16.: Distribution of imperfective vowels

		Simple	f-marked	Citation form
REAL MV	1s	dùudě-n	dùudè- f -àn	dùudō ‘try, practise’
JUSS/IMP	2s	kùur-ù-wé!	kùurì- f -òo-wè!	kùurū ‘cut grass’
OPT	3s	sháab-àwng	shāab- f -āwng	sháabā ‘milk’
COBL	3sf	sháab-āwnkā	shāab- f -āwnkā	sháabā ‘milk’
CV _{DS}	1s	tòrì-nā	tòrì- f -ànà	tòrū ‘plough’
CV _{MAN/SIM}	f	kéemē-t	kéem- f -àt	kéemā ‘watch over’
CV _{SEQ}	f	kò’s-àat	kò’sì- f -àat	kò’sū ‘finish’
CV _{IT}	m	kùns-áafē	kùnsì- f -áafē	kùnsū ‘put’
QCV	1s/3f	zàyè-nārè	zàyè- f -ànàrè	zàyō ‘get drunk’
COMP	1s/3f	màké-nāmātó	măkē- f -ànàmátó	măkō ‘tell’
SIMIL	1s/3f	màké-nāasīmātó	măkē- f -ànàasīmātó	măkō ‘tell’
TEMP ₁	1s/3f	kót-nānnēén	kót- f -ànànnēén	kótā ‘untie’
TEMP ₂	1s/3f	tìchì-nāysē	tìchì- f -ànàysē	tìchū ‘write’
ADNOM	1s/3f	sháab-nā	shāab- f -ànà	sháabā ‘milk’
COND	2s	kùns-àatānē	kùnsì- f -áatānē	kùnsū ‘put’
PURP/ CONC	1s/3f	kùnsù-nāk	kùnsì- f -ànāk	kùnsū ‘put’

Table 4.17.: Simple and f-marked verb forms

the conditional) the imperfective vowel is omitted in the f-marked form, too.

The concessive has an f-marked form only, which is formally derived from the purposive:

Purposive: *kùnsî-nāk* ‘in order for me/him to put’

Concessive: *kùnsî-f-ânāk* ‘even if I/he put(s)’

Progressive meaning is conveyed by the suffix *-dí* added before the imperfective suffix. Thus, the progressive is a marked form of the imperfective, both formally and functionally (cf. chapter 7 below).

4.8. Person and gender marking

Person marking occurs on all main and on many dependent verb forms. The person suffixes are placed after the mood or aspect suffixes. A gender distinction shows up on various suffixes in the 3rd person, such as the IPFV vowel in some paradigms, the negative suffix and the future interrogative suffix. On most verb forms with gender marking, it occurs along with person marking. Among converbs, however, there is gender marking without person marking on the general, the sequential, the simultaneous and the iterative converb. The different subject converb has person-sensitive marking, and the negative converb is not marked for person or gender at all (except for its derived DS and SS forms). In this section, the different types of person and gender marking will be presented.

4.8.1. Person marking

We have seen examples of person marking at different places in the preceding sections. Here, an overview of the different person marking paradigms will be given in order to allow for a comparison.

The person suffixes occur after possible number, mood, aspect, sequential or negative suffixes and before a possible nominalising suffix or suffixes indicating the semantics of dependent verb forms. This implies that if other suffixes are missing, the person suffixes appear after the stem at the end of the verb form, as in the simple, future, jussive/imperative or simple adnominal forms. As examples for the slots where person markers may occur, consider the 1st person singular forms in table 4.18 and the 2nd person plural polite forms in table 4.19, where the plural suffix (*-e/-sé/-o/-só*) occurs in addition after the stem.

There are various sets of person suffixes in Yemsa, depending on the verb form. Often, the sets differ in one or two persons only. To facilitate a comparison of the different paradigms, an overview of all person markers is given in table 4.20. The order

4. Verbal morphology

Verb form	Example
Simple	<i>dùudě-n</i> ‘I tried’
Progressive	<i>fàadi-dīf-ân</i> ‘I am counting’
Future NML	<i>kúná-nā-r</i> ‘I will lie down’
Adnominal simple	<i>sháab-nā</i> ‘which I milked’
Temporal 1	<i>kár’-nā-nnēen</i> ‘when I reached’
f-marked temporal 1	<i>kót-f-ânâ-nnēen</i> ‘when I untied’
Conditional	<i>kùns-àa-nā-nē</i> ‘if I put’
Negative conditional	<i>kàbù-nöy-nā-ròn</i> ‘if I do/did not stand up’

Table 4.18.: Place of 1st person singular marking in selected verb forms

Verb form	Example
Simple	<i>dùudè-sé-nī</i> ‘you (pl. pol.) tried’
Progressive	<i>fàadi-sé-dīf-ēnī</i> ‘you (pl. pol.) are counting’
Future NML	<i>kéy-só-nī-r</i> ‘you (pl. pol.) will lie down’
Adnominal simple	<i>sháab-ē-nī</i> ‘which you (pl. pol.) milked’
Temporal 1	<i>kár’-é-nī-nnēen</i> ‘when you (pl. pol.) reached’
f-marked temporal 1	<i>kót-é-f-ēnī-nnēen</i> ‘when you (pl. pol.) untied’
f-marked conditional	<i>kùnsi-sé-fáa-nī-nē</i> ‘if you (pl. pol.) put’
Negative conditional	<i>shō’-sô-nöy-nī-ròn</i> ‘if you (pl. pol.) do/did not stand up’

Table 4.19.: Place of 2nd person plural polite marking in selected verb forms

4.8. Person and gender marking

of the persons and paradigms was chosen in order to visualise identical forms best (= identical with preceding column; " identical with preceding row).

	Simple					f-marked				
	(Simple)	NML	DEP	DS	NEG	IPFV	NML ¹⁸	DEP	DS	NEG
1s	- 'n	-nā	=	=	- t	-àn	-ànà	=	=	-àt
2s	- 't	-tā	=	- n	-é	-àt	-àtà	=	-ēn	-é
3f	-∅	- "	-nā	"	-á	-à	=	-ànà	"	-ā
3m	"	- ' "	"	(-n)	-è	-ē	=	-ēnà	"	-ē
3POL	-tē	=	=	-tēn	-tō	"	=	-ē (-é)	"	"
1p	-nī	=	=	=	-ēnī	-ènì	=	=	=	-ēnī
2POL	"	=	=	=	"	"	=/"	=/"	=/"	"
2p/END	-tī	=	=	-nī	-étī	-ètì	=	=	"	-ètī

	FUT		JUSS/IMP	OPT	COBL	FUT _q
	(FUT)	NML				
1s	-nā	=	=	-nā/-ng	-ēnà	- àtā
2s	-tā	=	-∅	-y	-ē	-è
3f	-nā	-nī	- n	-ng	-ng -ā	-ā
3m	"	-nī	-o	"	-è	-è
3POL	-nē	=	-to	-tō	-ō	=
1p	-nī	=	=	-nì	-ēnì	=
2POL	"	=/"	-nì	=/"	"	=/"
2p/END	-tī	=	-tì	=	-ètì	- ètì

Table 4.20.: Overview of person markers in different paradigms

In the following, the different paradigms are discussed in more detail.

Declarative affirmative person paradigms

Simple main verb				Imperfective main verb ¹⁹				Future			
1s	- 'n	1p	-nī	1s	-àn	1p	-ènì	1s	-nā	1p	-nī
2s	- 't	2p/END	-tī	2s	-àt	2p/END	-ètì	2s	-tā	2p/END	-tī
2POL	-nī			2POL	-ènì			2POL	-nī		
3	-∅			3f	-à			3	-nā		
				3m	-ē						
3POL	-tē			3POL	-ē			3POL	-nē		

The imperfective main verb person suffixes are used for the imperfective and progressive aspectual forms of the main verb. In contrast to the simple forms, there is an

¹⁸ A nominalised form of the imperfective only occurs in the 3rd person; its person markers do not differ from those of the non-nominalised imperfective. The forms provided here are the characteristic person markers of the nominalised progressive.

¹⁹ The IPFV vowel is always included in the person paradigms where it occurs.

4. Verbal morphology

additional vowel at the beginning of the person suffix, the imperfective vowel (treated under 4.7 above). Its choice seems to be determined by vowel harmony in the 1st and 2nd persons. In the 3rd person, by contrast, the vowel following *-f* indicates gender and is also differentiated tonally: *-â* marks feminine, *-ē* masculine gender. There is no distinct polite form in the 3rd person imperfective: it patterns with the 3rd person masculine form.

The differences between the simple and imperfective main verb person suffixes on the one hand and those of the future on the other are twofold: first, the lack of final vowels in the 1st and 2nd person singular forms in the simple and imperfective, and second, the diverging 3rd person forms (bold face). As we shall see below, the future person suffixes have more in common with the dependent person suffixes than with those of the realis main verb.

The future person suffixes are not only used for future main verbs, but also for dependent verb forms relating to future events, i.e. the irrealis temporal 1 ('until...') and the purposive, but not for other irrealis verb forms. The other dependent person suffixes will be provided below in section 4.8.1.

Since nominalised verb forms may occur in finite function, as main verbs²⁰, the person markers that occur before a nominalising *-r* are listed here:

Nominalised simple			Nominalised progressive			Nominalised future			
1s	-nā	1p	-ânâ	1p	-ènî	1s	-nā	1p	-nî
2s	-tā	2p/END	-âtâ	2p/END	-ètî	2s	-tā	2p/END	-tî
2POL	-nî		2POL	-ènî		2POL	-nî		
3f	-		3f	-â		3f	-nî		
3m	-'		3m	-ē		3m	-nĭ		
3POL	-tē		3POL	-ē		3POL	-nē		

The nominalised simple and progressive forms differ from the simple forms in the 1st and 2nd person singular, where they have a final vowel *-ā/-â* after *-'n/-ân* and *-'t/-ât*, respectively (bold face; as in the future and the dependent verb forms). In the nominalised future, the 3rd person non-polite forms are different from those used in the non-nominalised future; they are gender-differentiated *-nî/-nî* instead of *-nā*.

²⁰ Cf. section 4.9 below.

Jussive/imperative person paradigm

Jussive/imperative			
1s	-nā	1p	-nī
2s	-∅	2p/END	-tì
2POL	-nì		
3f	-n		
3m	-o		
3POL	-to		

The 3rd person masculine and polite suffixes -o and -to do not carry inherent tones.

In the case of a-class verbs, where the stem vowel is elided in some of the forms²¹, there is an epenthetic vowel -u- intervening between the stem and the person suffix beginning with /n/ in the 3rd person singular feminine, e.g. *hām-û-n* ‘she shall go’.

Optative and counterfactual obligative person paradigms

The optative and counterfactual obligative person suffixes are very similar.²² The COBL paradigm can roughly be characterised in such a way that a suffix -k(ē) intervenes before the optative person suffix; in the 3rd person feminine it is -kà that appears *after* the optative person suffix. The COBL paradigm features a gender differentiation in the 3rd person, which is absent in the optative.

Optative				Counterfactual obligative			
1s	-nā/-ng	1p	-nì	1s	-ēnā	1p	-ēnì
2s	-y	2p/END	-tì	2s	-ē	2p/END	-ētì
2POL	-nì			2POL	-ēnì		
3	-ng			3f	-ng -ā		
				3m	-è		
3POL	-tō			3POL	-ō		

In the 2nd person singular optative, -y replaces w of the suffix -āw, as in *īm-ā-y* ‘may you give’.

In the 3rd person feminine of the counterfactual obligative the suffix is discontinuous: -k of the COBL suffix intervenes between -ng and -ā, leading to -āwngkā. There is also a variant -āwngkà with low instead of mid tone.

Person markers in negation

Most verb forms used in negation do not take particular person markers. The negative progressive takes the person markers of the affirmative, which is also true for the

²¹ Cf. table 4.14 in section 4.5 above.

²² For a discussion of these verb forms see chapter 6.1.

4. Verbal morphology

negated dependent forms. The prohibitive and the negative future take the future person markers.²³

However, the sets of person markers that are used in the negated simple and imperfective main verb forms (together with the preposed negative particle *àané*) are different from their affirmative counterparts and form paradigms of their own:

Negated simple				Negated imperfective			
1s	- <i>t̃</i>	1p	- <i>énī̃</i>	1s	- <i>ẫt̃</i>	1p	- <i>ènī̃</i>
2s	- <i>é</i>	2p/END	- <i>étī̃</i>	2s	- <i>e</i>	2p/END	- <i>ètī̃</i>
2POL	- <i>énī̃</i>			2POL	- <i>ènī̃</i>		
3f	- <i>á</i>			3f	- <i>ā̃</i>		
3m	- <i>è̃</i>			3m	- <i>ē̃</i>		
3POL	- <i>tō̃</i>			3POL	- <i>ē̃</i>		

The tones in the negated simple are those of the affirmative paradigm and sensitive to the preceding ones. In the negated imperfective, on the other hand, the tones are different from those of the affirmative imperfective paradigm. Segmentally, the negated imperfective person markers mostly correspond to the ones of the corresponding affirmative paradigm. Exceptions are the 1st and 2nd person singular, where the person suffixes of the negated simple paradigm are used (with the additional IPFV vowel /a/ at the beginning of the suffix in the 1st person), and the 3rd person polite, where the marker of the 3rd person masculine is used.

In the negated simple paradigm the vowel *e/a* (which occurs in the 2nd person singular, in the non-polite 3rd persons and as part of the 1st and 2nd person markers of the plural) is not analysed as a negative morpheme since it is missing in the 1st person singular and in the 3rd person polite forms. Furthermore, it occurs in different shapes (including tone) according to person and gender; it thus behaves similarly to the IPFV vowel, which is analysed as part of the person suffix (cf. section 4.7 above).

However, it might be the case that in these vowels there is a trace of an old negative morpheme, which became obsolete when preposing the negative particle *àané*. This could also be the case for the 1st person suffix *-t̃*.²⁴ became obligatory.

Interrogative person paradigm

There is one interrogative person paradigm, which is used in the interrogative future. All other interrogative forms are built by adding a suffix *-(n)o* to the corresponding declarative form (cf. section 4.12 below). The person suffixes are:

²³ The different kinds of negative formation are treated in section 4.11 below.

²⁴ Cf. section 4.11 below for the different negation strategies.

Interrogative future

1s	- \bar{a} tà	1p	- \bar{e} nì
2s	-è	2p/END	- \bar{e} tì
2POL	- \bar{e} nì		
3f	- \bar{a}		
3m	-è		
3POL	- \bar{o}		

Interestingly, this paradigm is very similar to the negative person paradigms presented in the preceding section.

Dependent person paradigms

The dependent verb forms, as far as marked for person, take one of three different sets of person suffixes: simple, imperfective and future. In the future the person paradigm is identical to that of main verbs, which was already presented above (section 4.8.1).

Dependent simple

1s	- $n\bar{a}$	1p	- $n\bar{i}$
2s	- $t\bar{a}$	2p/END	- $t\bar{i}$
2POL	- $n\bar{i}$		
3	- $n\bar{a}$		
3POL	- $t\bar{e}$		

Dependent IPFV

1s	- $\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	1p	- $\bar{e}n\bar{i}$
2s	- $\bar{a}t\bar{a}$	2p/END	- $\bar{e}t\bar{i}$
2POL	- $\bar{e}n\bar{i}$		
3f	- $\bar{a}n\bar{a}$		
3m	- $\bar{e}n\bar{a}$		
3POL	- \bar{e}		

Future

1s	- $n\bar{a}$	1p	- $n\bar{i}$
2s	- $t\bar{a}$	2p/END	- $t\bar{i}$
2POL	- $n\bar{i}$		
3	- $n\bar{a}$		
3POL	- $n\bar{e}$		

The simple and IPFV sets of dependent person suffixes differ not only in the occurrence of the imperfective vowel in the IPFV paradigm, entailing some tonal divergences, but also in the 3rd person polite form, which is either $-t\bar{e}$ or $-\bar{e}$ ²⁵. Apart from the imperfective vowel, both sets are nearly identical with the future person markers: The only difference is again the 3rd person polite form, which is $-n\bar{e}$ in the future. The simple set is used with temporal 1 (realis variant), temporal 2, conditional, simulative (simple variant), adnominal (simple variant), negative purposive and general quasi-converb. The IPFV set is used where the IPFV or $-f$ suffix immediately precedes the person suffix. Thus, we find it in the f-marked variants of the adnominal, temporal 1 (realis variant) and simulative forms, as well as in the concessive, which is inherently f-marked. The future paradigm is used in the irrealis temporal 1 and in the purposive.²⁶

²⁵ In the complement form and the general quasi-converb, however, the 3rd person polite carries a high tone, yielding e.g. the suffix $-t\bar{e}r\bar{e}$ in the general quasi-converb. This aberration remains unexplained. In the other persons, the general quasi-converb suffix $-r\bar{e}$ carries low tone.

²⁶ While hardly providing any person paradigms, Schaumberger (MSa) states that there are two different sets of person suffixes that occur in ‘adverbial clauses’: one for intransitive, one for transitive verbs. However, I could not find any evidence for this. Unfortunately, there are no examples cited. The ‘intransitive’ suffixes look like the future person markers, and the ‘transitive’ ones are identical to the possessive suffixes used on nouns.

4. Verbal morphology

Table 4.21 provides examples of the 3rd person polite form of all person-marked dependent forms, yielding an overview of which set of person markers is used with which verb form.

Pers. suffix		3POL	
Dependent Simple	ADNOM	<i>sháab-tē</i>	‘which (s)he (pol.) milked’
	QCV	<i>zâyè-tē-rē</i>	‘(s)he (pol.) getting drunk’
	TEMP 1	<i>dùudè-tē-nnēen</i>	‘when (s)he (pol.) tried’
	TEMP 2	<i>èfé-tēe-sē</i>	‘when (s)he (pol.) came’
	COND	<i>kùns-āa-tē-nē</i>	‘if (s)he (pol.) puts’
		<i>mèrittè-fāa-tē-nē</i>	‘if (s)he (pol.) advises’
	Neg COND	<i>shō’tō-nōy-tē-ròn</i>	‘if (s)he (pol.) does not stand up’
	COMP	<i>dùudè-tē-mātó</i>	‘that (s)he (pol.) tried’
	SIMIL	<i>bùrè-tēe²⁷-sīmātó</i>	‘as (s)he (pol.) said’
	Neg PURP	<i>ích-nōy-tē-mātó</i>	‘lest (s)he (pol.) hit’
Dependent f-marked	ADNOM IPFV	<i>òod-f-ē</i>	‘(s)he (pol.) waiting’
	QCV DS	<i>dùudè-f-ē-rē</i>	‘(s)he (pol.) trying’
	TEMP 1 ADVS	<i>kót-f-ē-nnēen</i>	‘when (s)he (pol.) unties’
	COMP IPFV	<i>wòstè-f-ē-mātó</i>	‘that (s)he (pol.) works’
	SIMIL IPFV	<i>bùrè-f-ēe-sīmātó</i>	‘as (s)he (pol.) says’
	CONC	<i>kùnsì-f-ē-k</i>	‘even if (s)he (pol.) puts’
Future	TEMP 1 IRR	<i>kár’-nē-nnēen</i>	‘until (s)he (pol.) reaches’
	PURP	<i>wăash-nē-k</i>	‘so that she (pol.) scrapes (ensete)’

Table 4.21.: Dependent verb forms and their sets of person suffixes

Person-sensitive marking in DS converbs

Person marking is of a special kind in different subject converbs. These are the different subject (general) converb (called DS converb) as well as the DS variants of the sequential converb. The number of person markers is reduced and the same marker is used for different persons. Thus, rather than person marking, we can talk of person-sensitive marking, as there are only four markers in the simple: *-nā*, *-nī*, *-tēn* and *-([̃])n* and three in the IPFV paradigm: *-ànà*, *-ènì* and *-ēn*.

The paradigms of the person-sensitive markers are the following (imperfective variant on the right):

²⁷ In some verb forms the person marker is lengthened because it is placed before the definite suffix *-s*, which occurs as a part of the verb suffix.

Person-sensitive markers (DS)

1s	- $n\bar{a}$	1p	- $n\bar{i}$
2s	- \bar{n}	2p/END	- $n\bar{i}$
2POL	- $n\bar{i}$		
3	- \bar{n}		
(3m)	- n		
3POL	- $t\bar{e}n$		

IPFV person-sensitive markers (DS)

1s	- $\grave{a}n\grave{a}$	1p	- $\grave{e}n\grave{i}$
2s	- $\bar{e}n$	2p/END	- $\grave{e}n\grave{i}$
2POL	- $\grave{e}n\grave{i}$		
3	- $\bar{e}n$		
3POL	- $\bar{e}n$		

In the 3rd person there is a masculine form that is only used with the f-marked DS variant of the sequential converb. This converb is not built with the DS IPFV person paradigm since it has no IPFV vowel as the first part of the person markers; the SEQ suffix - $\acute{a}a$ takes its place (cf. section 4.10 below).

When comparing the paradigm on the left to the person-marking paradigms presented above, the following observations can be made: One person-sensitive marker is identical with a person marker of the dependent and the future paradigm (1st person singular - $n\bar{a}$). Others are found in both main verb and dependent paradigms (1st person plural and 2nd person plural polite - $n\bar{i}$ as well as the 3rd person polite marker - $t\bar{e}$). Still others occur in no other paradigm (2nd person singular and 3rd person non-polite - \bar{n} as well as 2nd person plural - $n\bar{i}$).

The latter group of suffixes is particularly interesting since they allow for the identification of a DS marker - \bar{n} : In the 2nd person singular and non-polite 3rd person forms - \bar{n} occurs alone. In the 3rd person polite form the suffix is segmentable into a 3rd person polite marker - $t\bar{e}$ and - \bar{n} . The 2nd person suffixes - \bar{n} (singular) and - $n\bar{i}$ (plural) are not found with other verb forms. Compared to the simple forms they simply replace -($\bar{\cdot}$) t by -($\bar{\cdot}$) n . Thus, we can assume that the person-sensitive markers are historically made up of a DS marker - n and person markers, and that the reduced number of person-sensitive markers is due to that process of blending.²⁸

The IPFV paradigm is used after the IPFV suffix - f in the IPFV-marked variant of the DS converb. As in other f-marked paradigms, the 3rd person polite has the same form as the 3rd person masculine. This leads to a further reduction in the number of forms compared to the simple person-sensitive paradigm (on the left above): there are only three different forms, namely - $\grave{a}n\grave{a}$ for the 1st person, - $\bar{e}n$ for the 2nd person singular and the 3rd persons and - $\grave{e}n\grave{i}$ for the 1st and 2nd persons plural and the 2nd person polite. An inspection of the IPFV vowel shows that its distribution is different from other IPFV paradigms: it is - \grave{a} in the 1st person and - \bar{e}/\grave{e} in all other persons²⁹.

²⁸ n is used as a DS marker in other Omotic languages. Examples are, among others, Wolaitta -(i) n (Azeb Amha and Dimmendaal 2006:323), Benchnon - \bar{n} (Rapold 2006:231ff), Maale - em (not n , but still a nasal) and - $n\bar{t}e$ (Azeb Amha 2001:190ff).

²⁹ For a comparison of the different distributions of IPFV vowels see table 4.16 in section 4.7 above.

4. Verbal morphology

4.8.2. Gender marking

A real gender opposition on verb forms is only present in the 3rd person, and only in some verb forms. In some forms, the other persons pattern with feminine or masculine gender in the absence of person-marking. Gender is marked in the 3rd person of imperfective and future main verbs, the jussive/imperative, the nominalised main verbs, several converb forms, in f-marked dependent verb forms as well as in the interrogative future. In main verbs and quasi-converbs, it occurs along with person marking, whereas in converbs it occurs without person marking. In one converb, the DS sequential converb, gender is marked in the 3rd person in addition to person-sensitiveness. Gender is either marked through tone, through both tone and vowel quality, or through characteristic suffixes.

Gender marking through tone

Gender is marked exclusively by means of tone in the simultaneous and the sequential converbs and in the 3rd persons of the nominalised simple and future forms (for an overview of nominalised verb forms, see section 4.9 below.). Masculine gender generally triggers a higher tone than feminine on the last syllable.

In the nominalised future, the gender tone is on the person suffix, whereas in the nominalised simple, it is on the last syllable, since there is no person suffix in the 3rd person. In both forms, feminine is marked by mid tone, while masculine is marked by a rising tone.

Nominalised simple, 3rd person:

- (4.1) *wàagē-r* / *wàagě-r*
buy.f-NML buy.m-NML

Nominalised future, 3rd person:

- (4.2) *kūn-nīr* / *kūn-nĩr*
lie-3fFUT.NML lie-3mFUT.NML

The tonal gender markers of converbs are provided in table 4.22.

In the simple sequential converb feminine carries low tone, while masculine carries mid tone. In the manner and the f-marked sequential converbs, feminine carries mid, while masculine carries high tone; i.e. the simple and f-marked forms of the sequential converb carry different tones. As there is no person-marking in these verb forms, the two genders are assigned to the different persons as indicated in table 4.22: 3rd person masculine and polite have masculine gender, while all other persons are morphologically feminine. This distribution is possibly due to the fact that feminine is the default gender in Yemsa and as a consequence encompasses the non-gender-differentiating persons. The patterning of the 3rd person polite with masculine gender

4.8. Person and gender marking

Verb form	Feminine	Masculine
Sequential converb SS	3f; 1, 2	3m; 3POL
f-marked sequential converb SS	- âa - <i>t</i>	- āa - <i>t</i>
Manner converb	- <i>f-āa</i> - <i>t</i>	- <i>f-áa</i> - <i>t</i>
	- <i>t</i>	- <i>t</i>
f-marked sequential converb DS	3f	3m
	- <i>f-āa</i> - <i>n</i>	- <i>f-áa</i> - <i>n</i>

Table 4.22.: Converbs: gender marking through tone

could be explained by the men's higher social status, leading to the situation that the persons to be addressed politely used to be mostly men.³⁰

In the 3rd person of the f-marked DS sequential converb, masculine carries high tone on the last syllable. The feminine form on the other hand carries mid tone on the last syllable.

Gender marking through both tone and vowel quality

Feminine gender coded by the vowel -a (as opposed to -e for masculine gender) occurs in the general and the simultaneous converbs. It appears as an IPFV vowel in f-marked verb forms, and in the interrogative future, and on the negative suffix of the negative progressive. The forms are displayed in table 4.23.

Verb form	Feminine	Masculine
f-marked forms	3f	3m
Interrogative FUT	- <i>f-â</i> (-)	- <i>f-ē</i> (-)
	- <i>nk-ā</i>	- <i>nk-ê</i>
General converb	3f; 1, 2	3m; 3POL
SIM converb	- <i>r-â</i>	- <i>r-ē</i>
	- <i>f-â</i> - <i>t</i>	- <i>f-ē</i> - <i>t</i>
NEG progressive	3f; 3POL, 1, 2	3m
	- <i>t-á</i>	- <i>t-ê</i>

Table 4.23.: Gender marking through both tone and vowel quality

In the 3rd persons of the f-marked main verb forms and the person- and f-marked dependent verb forms, the IPFV vowel is -â for feminine and -ē for masculine reference³¹.

³⁰ Nevertheless, there is the suffix of the negative progressive where 3rd person polite patterns with feminine gender, cf. below.

³¹ The only exception is the f-marked general quasi-converb, where the 3rd person masculine gender vowel is -ê instead of -ē, as mentioned above in section 4.8.1.

4. Verbal morphology

In the interrogative future forms, the suffix *-nk-ā/-nk-è* displays a gender distinction in the 3rd person, with *-ā* having feminine value and *-è*³² masculine—notably with inversed tones compared to the gender-marked forms of f-marked verb forms.

In the general and the simultaneous converbs, we find the same gender dichotomy as in the sequential and manner converbs mentioned above: 3rd person masculine and polite are morphologically masculine, whereas all other persons are feminine. Unlike these converb forms, the 3rd person polite takes the feminine suffix in the negative progressive. The suffix is *-tá* in the 3rd person feminine and *-tè* in the 3rd person masculine. All other persons are morphologically feminine and take *-tá*.

Gender marking through characteristic suffixes

This form of gender marking occurs in the jussive/imperative paradigm. Gender differentiation is achieved through different person suffixes in the 3rd person (cf. section 4.8.1 above), not by a separate morpheme. Gender is thus not to be considered as a category on its own but as a part of the person marking system in the jussive/imperative.

JUSS 3f: *-n*

JUSS 3m: *-o*

4.9. Nominalisation of main verb forms

In addition to the definite suffix, which may adopt nominalising functions (cf. section 3.7.4), there is the nominaliser *-r*, which occurs at the end of words, e.g. verbs or possessive pronouns, as in the next examples. In example (4.3), it forms agentive nouns from verbs:

- (4.3) *Yè-sè-tēesē ēwāa-s-ōn kách'è-r kách'ē-n, wàar'ǎ-r*
 come.M-PL-3POL.TEMP₂ ensete-DEF-ACC.f cut.m-NML cut.3-DS dig.m-NML
wàar'ī-n, shèdī-r shèdī-n, wàashá-r
 dig.3-DS remove.leaves.m-NML remove.leaves.3-DS harvest.ensete.m-NML
wāashī-n, ūwāa-s-ōn bûlě-r bûlē-n
 harvest.ensete.3-DS ensete.root-DEF-ACC.f chop.m-NML chop.3-DS
wòstè-sé-f-ē.
 work-PL-IPFV-3POL

‘When they have come the ensete cutters cut, the diggers dig, the leaf removers remove (dry) leaves, the ensete harvesters harvest ensete (by scraping out the pith) and the choppers chop the ensete roots; (that is how) they work.’

³² These vowels are similar to the imperfective vowel (cf. section 4.7 above) in their behaviour: they also occur in the other persons, where the choice of the vowel is person-sensitive and conditioned by vowel harmony; the tones vary. Next to *-ā* and *-è*, there is *-ō*, used in the 3rd person polite. The vowel is treated as part of the person suffix (cf. section 4.8.1).

In examples (4.4) and (4.5) it turns adjectives or genitives into nouns:

- (4.4) *Àmǎlā-bà dèy mǎ'ā-r.*
 character-3fPOSS.f TOP good.f-NML
 ‘Her character is good (lit.: a good one).’

- (4.5) *Hān-bàr bûlīnnyā-s-ā-r / tǎ-r.*
 DEM-3sf farmer-DEF-GEN.m-NML my-NML
 ‘This is the farmer’s / mine.’

Nominalisation by means of *-r* also applies to main verbs, but not to all of them: it is possible for simple, imperfective, progressive and future forms, but not for jussive/imperative, optative and counterfactual obligative. When main verb forms are nominalised by placing *-r* at the end of the verb form in question, the resulting forms are morphologically nominalised but do not act as nouns syntactically. Rather, *-r* can be said to nominalise a whole sentence. Nevertheless, *-r* is not a sentence-final particle or clitic because its suffixation also involves other changes in the verb forms it is attached to. Nominalised main verb forms serve different functions in Yemsa, which are described in chapters 1 (nominalised simple and imperfective), 6 (nominalised future) and 7 (nominalised simple and progressive).

For a nominalised simple form, *-r* is suffixed to the simple verb form (formation and full paradigms cf. section 7.2.2), which undergoes additional changes in some persons: In the 1st and 2nd person singular, the person suffix in the nominalised verb form is *-nā* or *-tā* instead of *-n* or *-t*, respectively. In the 3rd person, a gender-marking tone is added on the last syllable: feminine $\bar{}$, masculine $\check{}$. In the other persons, *-r* is added without further changes. For illustration, compare these simple verb forms to their nominalised counterparts:

	Simple	Simple NML
1s	<i>dùudě-n</i> try-1s	<i>dùudě-nā-r</i> try-1s-NML
3sf	<i>dùudě</i> try	<i>dùudē-r</i> try.f-NML
3sm	<i>dùudě</i> try	<i>dùudě-r</i> try.m-NML
1p	<i>dùudě-nī</i> try-1p	<i>dùudě-nī-r</i> try-1p-NML

In the imperfective, a nominalised form is possible only for the 3rd person, where *-r* is added to the imperfective form without further changes. Examples:

4. Verbal morphology

	Imperfective	Imperfective NML
3sf	<i>kūn-f-â</i> lie-IPFV-3f	<i>kūn-f-â-r</i> lie-IPFV-3f-NML
3sm	<i>kún-f-ē</i> lie-IPFV-3m	<i>kún-f-ē-r</i> lie-IPFV-3m-NML

In the nominalised progressive, the person suffixes of the 1st and 2nd person singular are -*ânâ* and -*âtâ* instead of -*ân* and -*ât*, respectively: as in the nominalised simple, -*a* is added in the nominalised form. Nominalised progressive forms occur with all persons.

	Progressive	Progressive NML
1s	<i>fâadî-dîf-ân</i> count-PROG-1s	<i>fâadî-dîf-ânâ-r</i> count-PROG-1s-NML
1p	<i>fâadî-dîf-ènî</i> count-PROG-1p	<i>fâadî-dîf-ènî-r</i> count-PROG-1p-NML

Compared to their non-nominalised counterparts, the nominalised future forms display differences in the 3rd person: instead of -*nâ* they take gender-differentiated -*nî* (f) and -*nĩ* (m). This is the same suffix as in the future adnominal form (cf. section 8.1). In the a-class, these 3rd person suffixes are added to the root; the irrealis stem vowel drops. Otherwise, -*r* is simply added to the future forms.

	Future	Future NML
3sf	<i>kún-â-nâ</i> lie-IRR-1s/3	<i>kūn-nî-r</i> lie-3f-NML
3sm	<i>kún-â-nâ</i> lie-IRR-1s/3	<i>kūn-nĩ-r</i> lie-3m-NML
1p	<i>kún-â-nî</i> lie-IRR-1p	<i>kún-â-nî-r</i> lie-IRR-1p-NML

4.10. Markers of dependent verb forms

Converbs and other dependent verb forms have characteristic suffixes to mark clause-linking relations and semantics vis-à-vis the ensuing clause. Here, the suffixes will be simply listed (table 4.24). A deeper account of the functions and linkage types of the different dependent verb forms will be left to chapter 8.

Verb form	Suffix	Example
General CV	<i>-r</i>	<i>wàagè-r-ē</i> 'he buy/selling'
CV _{MAN} SS	<i>-t</i>	<i>kàssě-t</i> 'he playing'
CV _{SIM} SS	<i>-f; -t</i>	<i>kéem-f-ē-t</i> 'while watching (he)'
CV _{SEQ} SS	<i>-(f)aa; -t</i>	<i>kò's-āa-t</i> 'he having finished' <i>kò'si-fāa-t</i> 'he having finished'
DS	<i>-(f)aa</i>	<i>kàas-āa-n</i> 'he/she having paid' <i>shák-fāa-n</i> 'she having become silent'
COND	<i>-āa/-fāa; -nē</i>	<i>wòst-āa-nā-nē</i> 'if I/he/she work(s)' <i>wòstè-fāa-nā-nē</i> 'if I/he/she work(s)'
CV _{IT}	<i>-(t/f)áaf</i>	<i>mèttè-táaf-ē</i> 'he repeatedly becoming sick'
NEG CV	<i>-nǒy</i>	<i>yò-nǒy</i> 'without/before coming'
NEG ADNOM	<i>-nǒy</i>	<i>yò-nǒy</i> 'that does not come'
NEG COND	<i>-nǒy; -ròn</i>	<i>kàbù-nǒy-nā-ròn</i> 'if I/he/she do(es) not stand up'
NEG PURP	<i>-nǒy; -mātó</i>	<i>gìrù-nǒy-nā-mātó</i> 'lest I/he/she enter'
COMP	<i>-mātó</i>	<i>wòstè-nā-mātó</i> 'that I/he/she worked'
IPFV	<i>-f; -mātó</i>	<i>wòstè-f-ēnā-mātó</i> 'that he works'
SIMIL	<i>-mātó</i>	<i>màké-nāasī-mātó</i> 'as I/he/she said'

4. Verbal morphology

	IPFV	<i>-f; -mātó</i>	<i>màké-f-ēnāsī-mātó</i> 'as he says'
	QCV	<i>-rè</i>	<i>tòrì-nā-rè</i> 'I/he/she ploughing'
	DS	<i>-f; -rè</i>	<i>ìchīm-f-ànà-rè</i> 'it drying'
	TEMP ₁	<i>-nněen</i>	<i>kún-nā-nněen</i> 'when I/he/she lay/lie(s) down'
	ADVS	<i>-f; -nněen</i>	<i>kún-f-ànà-nněen</i> 'when I/she lay/lie(s) down'
	TEMP ₂	<i>-(y)sē</i>	<i>mě-nā-ysē</i> 'when I/he/she eat(s)'
	Long VN	<i>-k</i>	<i>wàagō-k</i> '(in order) to buy/sell'
	PURP	<i>-k</i>	<i>úshá-tā-k</i> 'for you to drink'
	CONC	<i>-f; -k</i>	<i>kùnsì-f-ēnà-k</i> 'even if he puts down'

Table 4.24.: Suffixes of dependent verb forms

Not all dependent forms have specialised suffixes. Some are just characterised by a combination of a stem form and the set of person suffixes, like the different subject converb and the affirmative adnominal forms, cf. chapter 8.

Many of the suffixes are shared by different verb forms. Thus, *-t* appears in the manner, simultaneous and sequential converbs; it can be described as a marker for same subject reference (of the following clause, cf. chapter 8.). The suffix *-aa* appears in the sequential converb and in the conditional. *-nőy* is a negative marker that is used only in dependent forms: it is found in the negative converb, the negative adnominal, the negative conditional and the negative purposive (for a discussion of the negative marking strategies see section 4.11 below.).

Then, there are suffixes that also appear as case markers on nouns: *-k* (long verbal noun, purposive, concessive), *-mātó* (similative, complement form, negative purposive), *-(y)sē* (temporal 2), *-nē* (conditional). *-nněen* (temporal 1) contains the nominal comitative case marker *-néen*. On nouns, *-k* marks locative case (with dative and instrumental meanings as well), while *-mātó* is the similative 2 case marker. *-(y)sē* and *-nē* are the definite and indefinite variants of the similative 1 case marker.³³

Many dependent verb forms have *f*-marked variants; this suffix is the IPFV marker in main verbs. However, these variants code aspectual values only in rare cases. For

³³ For a discussion of case, see section 3.3; for a functional comparison of the suffixes that occur both as case markers and as markers of quasi-converbs see table 8.2 in section 8.20.

the semantic differences between aspect-unmarked and f-marked dependent forms see chapter 7.

4.11. Verbal negation

The correspondence between affirmative and negative verb forms is not one-to-one; there are fewer negative verb forms than affirmative ones. Table 6.2 in chapter 6 shows which negative forms are used to negate the affirmative ones.

There is no unified strategy to mark negation on verbs. Rather, there are different strategies depending on the verb forms: The simple and imperfective are negated through a negation particle and distinct person suffixes. The progressive and the jussive/imperative take negative suffixes. The future and the counterfactual obligative are negated through periphrastic constructions. As for dependent verbs, there are distinct negative forms as counterparts to some of them. They all use a specific negative suffix, but differ from the affirmative forms in other respects as well.

4.11.1. Negation through a negative particle and characteristic person suffixes

To negate a simple or an imperfective verb form, the negation particle *àané* is placed before the verb, which, in turn, takes distinct person suffixes (shown in section 4.8.1 above). The base of the negated simple forms is the irrealis stem (cf. section 4.5). Consider these examples:

Affirmative simple: *wàag-ě-n* ‘I traded’

Negative simple: *àané wàag-ò-t* ‘I did not trade’

There is no negative suffix common to all persons. The suffix *-é* is used for all 2nd persons and for the 1st person plural. A suffix containing *-t-* is used in the 1st person singular and in the 3rd person polite. In the 3rd persons there is a gender distinction which is not present in the affirmative.

Unlike the negated simple, the negated imperfective is not built on the irrealis, but on the realis stem, as with all other f-marked verb forms. The person paradigm of the negated IPFV differs slightly from both the negated simple and the affirmative imperfective paradigm (for a comparison consider the overview of person markers in table 4.20 in section 4.8.1 above). In the 1st and 2nd person the markers of the negated simple are adopted, with an addition of the imperfective vowel and a different tone in the 1st person:

4. Verbal morphology

	Affirmative IPFV	Negated IPFV	Negated simple
1s	-f-ân	-f-â ^h t	- ^h t
2s	-f-ât	-f-é	-é

In the 3rd persons masculine and polite, the markers conform to those of the affirmative imperfective. In the other persons the markers are only tonally distinct (from both the affirmative IPFV and the negated simple forms, cf. table 4.20 above). Consider an example of the 3rd person:

wōlg-ī-f-ē ‘he gives back’
 âané wōlg-ī-f-ē ‘he does not give back’

4.11.2. Negation through a negative suffix

The prohibitive, the negative progressive and the negative nominalised simple paradigms are characterised by the suffix *-tá* added at the end of the verb form.

In the negative progressive and the negative nominalised simple, *-tá* is replaced by *-tê* in the 3rd person masculine, and it can only be suffixed to a nominalised verb form, as exemplified by the following:

Affirmative progressive:	fâad-ì-dí-f-ē	‘he is counting’
Affirmative nominalised progressive:	fâad-ì-dí-f-ē- r	‘he is counting’ (NML)
Negative (nominalised) progressive:	fâad-ì-dí-f-ē- r-tê	‘he is not counting’
	fâad-ì-dī-f-â- r-tá	‘she is not counting’

Affirmative nominalised simple:	wòst-è-nā- r	‘I work(ed)’
Negative nominalised simple:	wòst-è-nā- r-tá	‘I will not work’ ³⁴

The negative particle *âané* can be optionally preposed to the negative progressive form.

The following are examples of the negative jussive:

Negative jussive: *hâm-nāa-tá* ‘I/he/she shall not go’
hâm-nēe-tá ‘he (pol.) shall not go’

Apart from the negative suffix, the three verb forms are completely different. On the one hand they take different person suffixes—from the simple or IPFV declarative paradigm in the case of the negative nominalised simple and negative progressive, respectively, and from the future paradigm in the case of the prohibitive, cf. section 4.8.1 above. On the other hand, they have different stems—realis with the negative progressive and negative nominalised simple, irrealis with the prohibitive.

³⁴ For the function of the negative nominalised simple, see section 6.2.4.

The use of the nominalised progressive and simple on the one hand, and the definite-marked prohibitive forms on the other (indicated by the lengthening of the syllable preceding the negative suffix), support the idea that the negative suffix *-tá/-tè* is the negative copula. (This is the same *-tá* (f)/*-tè* (m) suffix presented in section 1.2.4.)

4.11.3. Negation through a periphrastic construction

Periphrastic constructions are used in the negative future and the negative counterfactual obligative.

In the negative future, the verb form is composed of a negative existential construction with the negative existential verb *àafá* and the noun *wūzā* ‘thing’ with a future adnominal verb form attributed to it³⁵. Thus, the negative answer to the question ‘Will you bake?’ is *àafá káss-ú-nā-wūzā*, equivalent to something like ‘There is no thing that I will bake’.

It is a grammaticalised construction and differs from related constructions in several respects:

- The normal order of an existential expression can be inverted, i.e. the negative existential verb is often placed before the grammaticalised noun phrase instead of at the end of the clause.
- Although the head of the attributive construction *wūzā* ‘thing’ is not the subject of the construction, the same expression is used for both transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g. also *àafá hāmā-nā-wūzā* ‘there is no thing that I will go’.
- There is also phonological reduction: in normal speech, the first syllable of *-wūzā* is often elided and the suffix is reduced to *-zā*, cf. *àafá kássú-só-ní-zā* ‘You (pl.) will not bake’. There, *-zā* is to be considered as a suffix and not as a word on its own anymore.

In the negative counterfactual obligative, an f-marked form of either the general quasi-converb or the temporal 2 (cf. section 4.10) is followed by the verb *shákā* ‘not do’ in the optative or counterfactual obligative form. For examples, see section 6.2.7 below.

4.11.4. Negation through a different verb form with a negative suffix

Among the dependent verb forms, there are some dedicated negative forms: the adnominal form, the negative converb, the negative conditional and the negative purposive. All four are characterised by the use of the suffix *-nǒy*, which occurs with different morphemes. The verb forms in question were described above under 4.10.

³⁵ Recall that the adnominal future form is identical to the declarative future main verb if its head is not the subject of the verb, cf. table 4.24 above.

4. Verbal morphology

-nǒy conveys a negative value, but it is not morphologically related to other negative morphemes discussed, such as *àané* or *-tá/-tè*. Examples are:

Negative adnominal:	<i>yò-nǒy</i>	‘that does not come’
Negative converb:	<i>yò-nǒy</i>	‘without/before coming’
Negative conditional:	<i>kàbù-nǒy-nāròn</i>	‘if I/he/she do(es) not stand up’
Negative purposive:	<i>gìrù-nǒy-nāmātó</i>	‘lest I/he/she enter’

All forms are based on the irrealis stem (cf. section 4.5 above).

4.12. Interrogative verb forms

In polar questions, the main verb carries an extra suffix *-o* at the end (*-no* in two cases). Otherwise, the verb form is not altered. Interrogative verb forms exist as counterparts to all declarative forms except for the nominalised imperfective. The (non-nominalised) interrogative future takes different interrogative suffixes which will be presented further below. In addition, interrogative forms exist for the 3rd person jussive. Table 4.25 shows examples of interrogative *-o* on 2nd person forms (and 3rd persons masculine, where the suffix is *-no* instead of *-o*). As exceptions, in the 3rd

Verb form	Declarative	Interrogative
Simple	<i>ùp'èt</i> ‘you met’	<i>ùp'èt-ǒ?</i> ‘did you meet?’
Simple NML	<i>ùp'ètār</i> ‘you met’	<i>ùp'ètār-ō?</i> ‘did you meet?’
IPFV	<i>ùp'èfàt</i> ‘you meet’	<i>ùp'èfàt-ǒ?</i> ‘do you meet?’
PROG	<i>fàadidifàt</i> ‘you are counting’	<i>fàadidifàt-ǒ?</i> ‘are you counting?’
	<i>fàadidifēr</i> ‘he is counting’	<i>fàadidifēr-n-ō?</i> ‘is he counting?’
PROG NML	<i>fàadidifàtār</i> ‘you are counting’	<i>fàadidifàtār-ǒ?</i> ‘are you counting?’
FUT NML	<i>kássútār</i> ‘you will bake’	<i>kássútār-ō?</i> ‘will you bake?’
	<i>kássūnīr</i> ‘he will bake’	<i>kássūnīr-n-ó?</i> ‘will he bake?’

Table 4.25.: Interrogative verb forms

person masculine interrogative forms of the nominalised progressive and future the interrogative suffix is *-no*, to which the nominalising suffix is assimilated, yielding the ending *-n-no* instead of *-r-o*, as in

káss-ū-nī-n-nó? ‘Will he bake?’

The interrogative forms of the jussive take *-o* or *-no* in the 3rd persons, as shown in table 4.26; in the other persons interrogative forms do not exist. There, the interrogative nominalised future forms are used instead.

The *-(n)o* interrogative suffix on verbs is probably grammaticalised from the interrogative copula *=no* (cf. section 1.2.4). It is treated as a verbal suffix here because of

	Jussive	Interrogative jussive
3sf	<i>hàmùn</i>	<i>hàmùn-ò?</i>
3sm	<i>hàmò(-wó)</i>	<i>hàmò(-wó)-nó?</i>
3sPOL	<i>òfótó</i>	<i>òfótó-nó?</i>
3pf	<i>hàmòsōn</i>	<i>hàmòsōn-ō?</i>
3pm	<i>hàmòsówó</i>	<i>hàmòsówó(-wó)-nó?</i>
3pPOL	<i>òfsótó</i>	<i>òfsótó-nó?</i>

Table 4.26.: Jussive and interrogative jussive of *hàm-à/òf-ō* ‘go’

its allomorphy and because it simply occurs at the end of main verb forms without any syntactic function of a copula. On dependent verb forms, however, the interrogative marker *=no* is to be considered in its wider use as interrogative copula, e.g. in clefted polar questions such as ex. (1.15) and (1.16) in section 1.2.4.

The only form that does not have a *-(n)o* suffix in the interrogative is the non-nominalised future. There, the interrogative suffix is *-nk* and occurs before instead of after a specific person suffix, e.g. *wòstò-nk-â?* ‘will she work?’. The interrogative future is described in section 6.1.5.

4.13. Overview

Tables 4.27 and 4.28 present overviews of all verb forms and their classification as realis/irrealis on the one hand and as main and dependent verb forms on the other. Verb forms that cannot be assigned to either realis or irrealis on the basis of morphology are provided in table 4.29.

The tables show that f-marked verb forms are confined to realis, including the negated imperfective forms—although negative is otherwise an irrealis category (cf. section 4.5 above). The negative forms are listed as long as they use some kind of negative inflection. The same applies to interrogative forms: the only interrogative form included in table 4.28 is the interrogative future (abbreviated by FUT Q) because it uses a characteristic suffix combined with characteristic person suffixes (cf. section 4.12 above).

A further verb form is the long verbal noun, which is not based on a realis or irrealis stem or on the root, but on the verbal noun.

		Affirmative						Negative	
Main	Simple	Simple							
	f-marked	IPFV	PROG	OPT	COBL				IPFV PROG
Dependent	Simple	CV	DS	MAN	QCV				
		TEMP ₁	TEMP ₂	COMP	SIMIL	ADNOM			
	f-marked		DS	SIM	QCV	SEQ	IT	COND	
		TEMP ₁	TEMP ₂	COMP	SIMIL	ADNOM	CONC		

Table 4.27.: Realis verb forms

		Affirmative			Negative			
Main	Simple	FUT	JUSS/IMP	FUT Q	Simple	JUSS/IMP		
Dependent	Simple	PURP	TEMP ₁	ADNOM	CV	COND	PURP	ADNOM

Table 4.28.: Irrealis verb forms

	Affirmative			Negative
Main	OPT	COBL		
Dependent	SEQ	IT	COND	

Table 4.29.: Verb forms not assigned to realis or irrealis

5. Valency-changing derivations

In this chapter, the functions of the passive and causative derivational suffixes are explored. These are passive *-t* and causative *-s/-k/-nnɣ/-n*; their morphology was presented in section 4.4 above. The passive marker is particularly interesting because it assumes middle semantic functions besides its passivising syntactic function.

5.1. Syntax and semantics of the passive

In Yemsa, passive marking has two different functions. On the one hand, there is the syntactic, valency-changing passive function typical of a *derived voice* system. On the other hand, the passive marker *-t* has the semantic function of middle that comes close to a *basic middle voice* or a *reflexive middle*, in the terminology of Klaiman (1991, 1992). However, the middle is neither of the basic voice nor of the reflexive type proper, since it does not involve a consistent middle vs. non-middle morphological distinction and the middle marker (i.e. the passive suffix) does not seem to be derived from a reflexive marker historically. Synchronically too, reflexive is marked separately from middle.

These observations lead me to believe that the syntactic (passive) function is basic (which also guided the choice of terminology), and that the function of the passive marker gradually extended to typically middle semantic domains, where it has no valency-changing effects anymore.

Passive, anticausative and middle meanings are also expressed by the same morpheme in Amharic. The occurrence of a middle voice—be it as part of a basic voice system or otherwise—is common to Ethiopian languages in general.

5.1.1. Syntactic effects

The syntactic effects of *-t* in its passivising function are those of a ‘prototypical passive’ following Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000b:7): A transitive verb becomes intransitive, the grammatical object (undergoer) assumes the grammatical relation of subject (single argument), and the former subject (actor) becomes a peripheral participant, which is omitted in Yemsa.

Transitive → intransitive

U → S; A → periphery (omitted)

5. Valency-changing derivations

In the following example, *nàwà* ‘child’ is the subject of the passivised verbs *tés-t-ērà* ‘is created’ and *kòon-t-èfà* ‘is born’.

- (5.1) *Măshkâ àsû-nì kâssî nàwà tés-t-ē-r-â izgîn ássâ*
 female woman-GEN.f abdomen.in child create-PASS-CV-F nine month
kār’-bâa-s-îk ârkî-r-â kòon-t-è-f-â.
 reach-3fPOSS.f-DEF-LOC.f become.big-CV-F give.birth-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘In a woman’s womb a child is created, after nine months it has become big and is born.’

An intransitive verb can also be passivised. The single argument disappears, and the verb becomes impersonal, as in ex. (5.2).

Intransitive → ‘impersonal’

S → ∅

- (5.2) *És kâbâ Jîmmâ=tû tâmâr-t-è-f-â.*
 DEM time J.=FOC learn-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘At that time school was in Jimma (lit.: there was learning/it was learnt in Jimma).’

Switch-Reference and passive¹

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:285ff) state that cross-linguistically, reference tracking is most commonly achieved either by means of a switch-reference or a ‘switch-function’ system, which means a system of grammatical voice. However, in Yemsa, both types are present. Their co-occurrence leads to interesting effects such as unexpected same-subject marking, which is especially found with subsequent passive verbs in a clause chain.

Consider the following example:

- (5.3) *Bàasì téegóo-s dèy tòonà hàmm-ē tîr’ō yîssh-ē*
 3sPOL.POSS husband-DEF TOP lowlands go.CV-M cotton dig/collect.CV-M
têsshè-tēn=tû súk-t-ē-r-â mǎamā wîchē-f-â.
 bring-3POL.DS=FOC spin-PASS-CV-F clothes weave.PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘Her husband goes to the lowlands, collects cotton and brings it back; it is spun and clothes are woven.’

In this example, we observe two facts: First, the subject change from *têsshètēn* ‘brings’, i.e. the husband, to the non-agentive subject of the passive converb *súktērà* ‘is spun’ – which is the non-overt ‘cotton’ – is indicated by the DS suffix *-tēn*. On the other hand, the subject change between the passive verbs *súktērà* ‘is spun’ (subject: cotton) and

¹ The ideas of this section are also discussed in Zaugg-Coretti (2010).

wĩcchēfā ‘is woven’ (subject: clothes) is not marked. Thus, while there is DS marking on an active verb before a passive verb, there is SS marking on subsequent passive converbs with different subjects in this example. The next example displays a longer chain of passive converbs:

- (5.4) ...*dāa-s būkúcchē-r-ā, dādā dǎd-tē-r-ā, tòochō*
 floor-DEF clear.PASS-CV-F pole erect-PASS-CV-F [horizontal.pieces.of.wood]
táatē-r-ā, súkā òot-tē-r-ā, yèetō kàam-tē-r-ā,
 tie.PASS-CV-F doorsill tie-PASS-CV-F middle.pole sharpen-PASS-CV-F
bàwō gàak-tē-r-ā, yèetō òot-tē-nā-nnēen òrfō...
 [circle.on.top.of.the.roof] fix-PASS-CV-F middle.pole tie-PASS-3-TEMP₁ after
 ‘...the floor is cleared, the poles are erected, the *toocho* are tied, the doorsill
 is inserted, the middle pole is sharpened and the *bawo* is fixed, and after the
 middle pole is inserted...’

Even though the syntactic subjects are different with each of the verbs, the semantic Agents probably remain the same in this extract from a description of traditional house building practice.

This could be a hint that SR marking in Yemsa is in fact depending on the semantic role of Agent, not on grammatical relations such as subject. However, following Stirling (1993:26f), it is preferable to still speak of subjecthood linked with agentivity which controls SR marking and not agentivity per se, since it is hard to find clear examples to prove such an assumption.² This view is supported by the fact that in Yemsa, other subjects with low agentivity (besides those in passive constructions) do not trigger unexpected SS marking, as shown in Zaugg-Coretti (2010).

Note that it is not impossible for passive verbs to occur with DS marking. Examples are few, but the agentivity of the new subject after the converb seems to play a role, as in this, admittedly very short, fragment of a sentence:

- (5.5) ...*būnā ét-tē-n ússh-ē...*
 coffee boil-PASS.3-DS drink.CV-M
 ‘...coffee is boiled and they drink...’

5.1.2. Middle semantics

As pointed out above, there is no separate middle marking in Yemsa, but in many cases the passive stem conveys middle meanings. It is important to note that *middle* is used here as a semantic term only, without the syntactic implication of a lack of an actor—for which the term ‘anticausative’ is more appropriate (Dixon 2000). Only a few of the passive-marked middle verbs can be regarded as anticausatives, cf. below.

² After all: if agents are so unimportant that they are not expressed overtly—or even unknown—they are not to be expected to trigger grammatical marking either.

5. Valency-changing derivations

Morphologically passive but semantically middle verbs do not have syntactic effects—unlike the passive. Middle verbs are mainly intransitive, but some are also transitive. The following semantic domains can be identified, following Kemmer (1993):

- Nontranslational motion: ‘lay one’s head on a pillow’, ‘turn around and see’, ‘fall down’, ‘go round, rotate’
- Change in body posture: ‘stand up’
- Body care (reflexive middle): ‘shave’, ‘wash’
- Other body actions or states: ‘become thirsty’, ‘become hungry, starve’, ‘eat, consume’, ‘fall asleep, slumber’, ‘become pregnant’, ‘become sick, feel ill’, ‘have diarrhea’, ‘vomit’
- Translational motion: ‘come’, ‘swim’, ‘become fast’, ‘remain’, ‘stagger’
- Emotion: ‘be grateful, appreciate’, ‘love’, ‘hate’, ‘hope’, ‘accuse’
- Cognition: ‘remember’, ‘dream’
- Spontaneous events: ‘break’, ‘burn down’
- Naturally reciprocal events: ‘be akin’, ‘become friends’

It can be gathered from this listing that in Yemsa middle actions are predominantly body-related. The vast domain of ‘spontaneous events’ is represented by a few verbs only. In contrast to middle semantics in Cushitic languages as characterised by Mous (2004), Yemsa does not express autobenefactive meanings (termed ‘indirect middle’ by Kemmer (1993)) through middle—i.e. passive—marking.³ On the other hand, just as in the four Cushitic languages investigated by Mous (2004), many of the middle passive verbs have a negative connotation.

The ‘emotion’ and ‘cognition’ verbs can also be subsumed under the body-related ones. In contrast to most other middle verbs the emotion verbs are mainly transitive.

Reflexive verbs with a ‘lower degree of distinguishability of participants’ (Kemmer 1993:61ff) are also passive-marked, e.g. *káarittō* ‘shave’. In contrast, the ‘direct reflexive’ is marked by the reflexive pronoun *têetâ*, lit. ‘head’. Reflexive middle verbs typically represent actions of body care. In terms of semantic roles, the reflexive middle verbs have a single argument which is at the same time the Agent and the Patient of the action. Direct reflexives, by contrast, have two semantic roles, an Agent and a Patient, with identical referents. This seems to be a minor difference which is,

³ Morphologically, Yemsa differs from the four languages treated by Mous (2004): In Iraqw, Oromo, Somali and Afar, middle meanings are conveyed by a dedicated Middle morpheme, which is not identical to the passive marker.

5.1. Syntax and semantics of the passive

however, responsible for morphological differences between middle and direct reflexives in many languages.

As for the other body-related verbs, their single argument is either an Experiencer (e.g. ‘feel hungry’, ‘dream’) a Theme (motion verbs) or even a Patient (‘become pregnant’, ‘be sick’).

Besides the semantic domains discussed, naturally reciprocal events (such as *zōmtō* ‘become friends’ or *kóontō* ‘be related’) are another group of verbs that are marked by the passive derivational suffix in Yemsa. For other reciprocal actions there is the dedicated reciprocal marker *wal*.

The majority of middle passive stems are not related to underived verbs (see list of examples below). They do not have unmarked stems as counterparts and are so-called *deponents*. Those that do have transitive or causative counterparts are either from the reflexive middle group or represent anticausatives. As a further difference between direct reflexives and reflexive middle verbs Kemmer (1993:55) states that the former are never deponents, as opposed to middle verbs in general, which are frequently deponents. A few middle Passives are derived from nouns, such as *dò’tō* ‘have diarrhea’ from *dòo’à* ‘hole’.

As we have seen, middle verbs are often body-related, but not every body-related verb is morphologically middle, i.e. has a passive suffix. Body-related verbs without a passive suffix include *kūnā* ‘lie down’, *ōfō* ‘come, go’ (pol.), *káa’ā* ‘scratch (one’s body)’, *kātā* ‘breathe’ and others. It is striking that if a verb occurs in different politeness registers, it often has a passive suffix only in the higher registers. Examples are ‘eat, consume’, ‘come’, ‘stand up’. The following is a list of middle passive verbs with the indication of the register.

	Verb	Derived from		Reg.
a.	<i>bòktō</i>	‘lay one’s head on a pillow’	–	com.
	<i>wòshùktō</i>	‘fall down’	–	pol.
	<i>bìrátō</i>	‘go round, rotate’	–	com.
	<i>shō’tō</i>	‘stand up’	–	pol.
	<i>iktō</i>	‘be thirsty’	–	com.
	<i>màktō</i>	‘be hungry, starve’	–	com.
	<i>fùshàfúshtō</i>	‘be hungry, starve’	–	pol.
	<i>kìchō</i>	‘eat, consume’	–	pol.
	<i>böstō</i>	‘eat, consume’	–	roy.
	<i>gìgittō</i>	‘fall asleep, slumber’	–	pol.
	<i>nànèttō</i>	‘become pregnant’	<i>nàwà</i> ‘child’	com.
	<i>séltō</i>	‘be sick, feel ill’	–	pol.
	<i>dò’tō</i>	‘have diarrhea’	<i>dòo’à</i> ‘hole’	com.
	<i>gùcchō</i>	‘vomit’	–	com.
	<i>mùchō</i>	‘come’	–	roy.

5. Valency-changing derivations

	<i>íchō</i>	‘swim’	—	com.
	<i>tàptō</i>	‘become fast’	—	com.
	<i>kèeshtō</i>	‘love’	—	com.
	<i>òomtō</i>	‘hate’	—	com.
	<i>gàlǎttō</i>	‘be grateful, appreciate’	—	com.
	<i>mālātō</i>	‘accuse’	—	com.
	<i>shárástō</i>	‘stagger’	—	com.
	<i>yàadâtō</i>	‘remember’	ORO: <i>yadu</i>	‘think’ com.
	<i>mīitō</i>	‘dream’	—	com.
b.	<i>zǒmtō</i>	‘become friends’	<i>zōmō</i>	‘become friends’ com.
	<i>kóontō</i> ⁴	‘be related, be akin’	<i>kóon</i>	‘relative, kin’ com.
	<i>nàashtō</i>	‘become in-laws’	<i>nàashō</i>	‘in-laws’ com.
	<i>gì’tō</i>	‘disagree’	<i>gì’ū</i>	‘be angry’ com.
c.	<i>shāaktō</i>	‘wash’ (itr.)	<i>shāagū</i>	‘wash, rinse’ (tr.) pol.
	<i>káarittō</i>	‘shave’ (itr.)	<i>káaríssū</i>	‘shave’ (tr.) pol.
	<i>gèetō</i>	‘hang oneself’	<i>gèer’à</i>	‘hang, strangle’ com.
	<i>ǎachō</i>	‘hide’ (itr.)	<i>ǎachū</i>	‘hide’ (tr.) com.
	<i>shēlīktō</i>	‘turn around in bed’	<i>shēlgū</i>	‘turn upside down’ com.
	<i>zèep’tō</i>	‘relax, rest’	<i>zèep’à</i>	‘straighten’ com.
d.	<i>mèstō</i>	‘break’ (itr.)	<i>mèsū</i>	‘break’ (tr.) com.
	<i>dùttō</i>	‘burn down’ (itr.)	<i>dùtū</i>	‘put a trunk into the fire’ com.
	<i>mèttō</i>	‘be sick, feel ill’	<i>mèrō</i>	‘defeat’ com.

The verbs under (a.) in the list above are deponents with middle semantics. The verbs under (b.) are natural reciprocals. The verbs under (c.) represent reflexive middles, and the verbs under (d.) can be regarded as anticausatives because they represent intransitive verbs derived from transitive (partly causative-marked) verbs.

Sentences (5.6) and (5.7) show instances of passive-marked middle verbs. The passive suffix *-t* can be identified.

- (5.6) *És-néen ékálō nàashtè-r-à fó-nī.*
that-COMIT after become.inlaws-CV-F live.IRR-1p
‘After that we will live as in-laws.’

- (5.7) *Tá nàanggòt-nàa-s-ōn àkāmā-nòn kèeshtè-nā-r.*
1s children-my.f-DEF-ACC.f much-ADV love-1s-NML
‘I love my children a lot.’

⁴ *kóontō* ‘be related, be akin’ with high tone is to be kept apart from *kòontō* ‘be born’, which is the passive form of *kòonū* ‘give birth’. In former, the passive suffix renders a reciprocal meaning, whereas in the latter the meaning is passive.

5.2. Syntax and semantics of the causative

5.2.1. Syntactic effects

The function of the causative suffix *-s* (and of the non-productive causative suffixes *-k*, *-nn̄y* and *-n*) is that of a ‘prototypical causative’ as characterised by Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000b:13): An intransitive verb becomes transitive, the single argument becomes the object (undergoer) and a new actor-subject is introduced, which is the causer.

intransitive → transitive

causer → A

S → U

- (5.8) *Sháa’ā-s-ōn kò’i-sì.* (< *kò’ā* ‘come to an end’)
 grass-DEF-ACC.f end-CAUS
 ‘He finished the grass.’

A causative may also operate on a transitive verb. In that case, it remains transitive; the causer is the actor as in the first case. For the new object (undergoer), there are two possibilities now: either the causee, i.e. the former subject (actor) assumes this role and becomes the syntactic object, or the former object remains the object of the causativised verb. The other object is not mentioned.

transitive → transitive:

causer → A

either: causee → U

or: U → U

Example (5.9) exemplifies the first possibility (causee as object), whereas example (5.10) exemplifies the second one (object as object):

- (5.9) *Kùr’ī àbà-báa-s-īn mây-sì.* (< *màyà* ‘wear’)
 be.old father-3mPOSS.m-DEF-ACC.m wear-CAUS
 ‘He clothed his old father.’

- (5.10) *Àppiyō éssí.* (< *étū* ‘cook’)
 bean cook.CAUS
 ‘He had beans cooked.’

The semantics of the causative is rather broad: The causer may act on the causee either directly (ex. (5.11)) or indirectly (ex. (5.12), (5.13)). The causee in turn may act either by his free will (ex. (5.12)) or because he is forced to do so (ex. (5.11)).

5. Valency-changing derivations

- (5.11) ...*bàassò kèer-ūn* *òdé-sé-tē-ysē* *kés-é-r-ē* *hàarō*
 3pPOL house_{LOC}-ABL hear-PL-3POL-TEMP₂ exit/ascend-PL-CV-M stick
*kàbgì-r-ē*⁵ **èel-sì-f-ē**.
 lift.up-CV-M run-CAUS-IPFV-3POL
 ‘...when they hear him from the house, they come out, take a stick and chase him away (lit.: make him run).’
- (5.12) *Mèttē àbà-báa-s-īn* **àakām-sì-díf-ē-r**.
 be.sick father-3mPOSS.m-DEF-ACC.m cure-CAUS-PROG-3POL-NML
 ‘They take their sick fathers to the doctor’s (lit.: cause to cure).’
- (5.13) **kōp’-s-ū-nì** *téchmā*
 give.birth_{POL}-CAUS-VN-GEN.f expert.f
 ‘midwife’

In general, the causer is an animate being who acts volitionally, but not necessarily so, as the following examples show:

- (5.14) *Ēs-tā-nēen* “*nè* *gèshō-s-tā* *dī-r-ē* *yō-nà-s=tū*
 DEM-on-COMIT 2sPOSS back-DEF-on sit-CV-M come.VN-1sPOSS.f-DEF=FOC
tā-n **mìchī-r=wā**” *yī*.
 1s-ACC laugh.CAUS.f-NML-ADR.m say
 ‘“It was me coming here sitting on your back that made me laugh”, he said.’
- (5.15) **Shól-s-ūu-s-ōn** *zùuttāmbàasē kèer-ūn=tū* *wòstè-r-ē*
 want-CAUS-VN-DEF-ACC.f everything house_{LOC}-ABL=FOC work-CV-M
bār-īk *fè-sè-f-ē*.
 3sf-LOC.f live.M-PL-IPFV-3POL
 ‘They make everything they need at (lit.: from) home and live by it.’
- (5.16) *Kóp’-ó-nā-k* **shól-sí** *wūzāa-s-ī-kītō* *hóorē-f-à*.
 give.birth_{POL}-IRR-3-PURP want-CAUS thing-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f get.ready-IPFV-3f
 ‘The things needed for childbirth are prepared (lit.: get ready).’

⁵ *kàb-gì-r-ē* is a further instance of a causativised verb: *kābū* ‘stand up’ is causativised by the suffix -k.

6. Mood and negation

In this chapter, modal and negative verb forms are presented. Besides a description of their formation and example paradigms, their semantics and uses will be discussed.

Because it is valid for all verb forms I include the following observation before the description of the individual forms: For plural referents, both plural and singular forms can be used. In other words, plural marking is not obligatory.

6.1. Mood

Beyond the realis/irrealis distinction signalled by the stem vowels there is a further mood differentiation on another level, which leads to the future, jussive/imperative, optative and counterfactual obligative verb forms, as described in section 4.7 above.

6.1.1. Future

The future is built from the irrealis stem (cf. section 4.5), a possible irrealis plural marker (cf. section 4.6) and the future person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1).

Irrealis stem (+number) + person

Future of <i>wàagō</i> ‘buy/sell’			
1s	<i>wàagò-nā</i>	1p	<i>wàagò-nī</i>
2s	<i>wàagò-tā</i>	2p	<i>wàag-sò-tī</i>
2sEND	<i>wàagò-tī</i>		
2sPOL	<i>wàagò-nī</i>	2pPOL	<i>wàag-sò-nī</i>
3s	<i>wàagò-nā</i>	3p	<i>wàag-sò-nā</i>
3sPOL	<i>wàagò-nē</i>	3pPOL	<i>wàag-sò-nē</i>

The stem vowel is overridden by the plural suffix in this verb¹, which is -só in the o- and u-class; the tonal change is due to the spread of the low tone from the root.

The future has a nominalised variant described under 4.9; it is basically formed by adding the suffix -r and by characteristic, gender-marked person suffixes in the 3rd person non-polite.

¹ But not in others, cf. the paradigm of *dùudō* ‘try, practise’ in appendix B. The conditions for the plural suffix to replace the stem vowel in certain verb forms have not been studied systematically yet; they might be related to the nature of the last root consonant.

6. Mood and negation

Irrealis stem (+number) + person + NML

NML future of *sòokà* ‘light’

1s	<i>sòokà-nā-r</i>	1p	<i>sòokà-nī-r</i>
2s	<i>sòokà-tā-r</i>	2p/END	<i>sòokà-tī-r</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokà-nī-r</i>	2pPOL	<i>sòok-ò-nī-r</i>
3sf	<i>sòok-nī-r</i>	3pf	<i>sòok-ò-nī-r</i>
3sm	<i>sòok-nī-r</i>	3pm	<i>sòok-ò-nī-r</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòok-nē-r</i>	3pPOL	<i>sòok-ò-nē-r</i>

NML future of *dùudò* ‘try’

1s	<i>dùudò-nā-r</i>	1p	<i>dùudò-nī-r</i>
2s	<i>dùudò-tā-r</i>	2p/END	<i>dùudò-tī-r</i>
2sPOL	<i>dùudò-nī-r</i>	2pPOL	<i>dùudò-só-nī-r</i>
3sf	<i>dùudò-nī-r</i>	3pf	<i>dùudò-só-nī-r</i>
3sm	<i>dùudò-nī-r</i>	3pm	<i>dùudò-só-nī-r</i>
3sPOL	<i>dùudò-nē-r</i>	3pPOL	<i>dùudò-sō-nē-r</i>

The a-class differs from the o- and u-classes in that the stem vowel is absent in the 3rd person forms of the singular (cf. the paradigm of *sòok-à* ‘light’). In all classes the stem vowel is overridden by the plural suffix *-o/-sò* under certain conditions.

It seems that there is a semantic difference between the two future forms: the nominalised future is used for predictions without an involvement of the subject’s will whereas the non-nominalised form conveys intentions or expectations. My informant Nigatu Gebresilaase provided the following examples to illustrate the contrast:

- (6.1) a. *Bàr gēyā sòok-à-nā.*
 3sf fire light-IRR-3
 ‘She will light the fire.’
 b. *Bàr gēyā sòok-nīr.*
 3sf fire light-3FUT.NML
 ‘She will light the fire.’

Example (6.1b) implies a decision where the subject was not involved, i.e. somebody else decided that she would light the fire. Such a decision is absent in ex. (6.1a) with the non-nominalised future, which is much more frequent in my text corpus. Some more examples are:

- (6.2) *Tá dèy [...] àrì-nā-ys-ōn māk-ó-nā².*
 1s TOP know-1s-DEF-ACC.f tell-IRR-1s
 ‘I will tell you what I know.’

² In *māk-ó-nā* the rule ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID applies, leading to the mid tone on the first syllable (cf. section 2.6.3).

- (6.3) *Àfàdū-nòn hān-néen ékālō àsū-bā zàgì-r-ē èp'-nì*
 A.-ACC.f DEM-COMIT after wife-3mPOSS.f make-CV-M marry-3FUT.ADN
năa àkāmā-nòn=tū gîr-ô-nā.
 boy.DEF much-ADV=FOC be.happy-IRR-3

‘The boy who is going to marry Afadu later on will be very happy.’

- (6.4) *Ìzgìn kēwāa-s-sī-n ìzgìn ákō-nì nàwà dân-â-nī.*
 nine egg-DEF-in-ABL nine chicken-GEN.f child find-IRR-1p
 ‘From nine eggs we will get nine chicks.’

- (6.5) *“Hā’ō-nì-màtó=tú dèy àrū sîn-â-tī.”*
 God-GEN.f-like=FOC TOP wise.f become-IRR-2p
 ‘“You will become wise like God.”’

The range of meanings that can be expressed by the future goes beyond future temporal reference: it is often used in the apodosis of conditional clauses (ex. (6.6) and (6.7)) and can even have habitual meanings (as in ex. (6.8) and (6.9)).

- (6.6) *Àt’k’ā àsù hēbō-bā èpp’-ē àtū-bā-sī kōyū*
 male man spear-3mPOSS.f take.CV-M body-3mPOSS.f-in be.dry.VN
sîn-fāa-nā-nē és-bār-īn bī-r-ē=tū âat-û-nā.
 become-SEQ-3-COND DEM-3sm-ACC.m see-CV-M=FOC let.pass-IRR-3[FUT]

‘If it was a strong man with his spear (who came by) they would see him and let him pass.’ (Lit.: ‘If a man had taken his spear and there was dryness in his body...’)

- (6.7) *Àchēech ákō shùk-âa-nī-nē àkāmā ùtō kòot-ô-nī.*
 four chicken slaughter-SEQ-1p-COND much dish cook-IRR-1p
 ‘If we slaughter four chickens we can cook a big meal.’

- (6.8) *Gārō nàanggòtā kūp’ō-tā-k kòon-tè-r-â dūbb*
 little children.f bed-on-LOC.f give.birth-PASS-CV-F tumble[AMH.IDEO]
yī-nāasē cháag-â-nā.
 say-3.TEMP₂ cry-IRR-3

‘When babies are born on the bed they cry.’

- (6.9) *Éksé-r-ē bùur’ū-s-sī gîrì-nā-nnēen òp’-ē=tū hām-â-nā.*
 go.away-CV-M forest-DEF-in enter-3-TEMP₁ take[.CV]-M=FOC go-IRR-3

‘When he went away and entered the forest they would take him and go (away).’

The construction of such sentences with the future form can be explained by the fact that they express a kind of expectation—be it related to future, present or past. The commitment to reality is probably less strong than with the more common habitual

6. Mood and negation

form, the imperfective, or the other form which is frequent in the apodosis of conditional clauses, the nominalised simple. Thus, the future is considered a mood rather than a tense, and could be termed ‘irrealis simple’ also for formal reasons. However, for simplicity’s sake the term ‘future’ is used in order not to be confused with either simple or irrealis.

In the next example, both the nominalised and non-nominalised future forms are present; the first is used to describe a situation that the subject is not aware of.

- (6.10) *Sinùntánó wösīyàa-s: “Zàkkàriyās-nō dig-ò-tāatá! Shíip’-ō-nèe-s*
but angel-DEF Zechariah-POL fear-IRR-2s.PROH pray-VN-2sPOSS-DEF
òd-té, àsū-nèe-s Èelsàbēt àrk’à nǎ-nī
hear-PASS wife-2sPOSS-DEF Elizabeth male boy-ACC.m
tān-ō-nīr, sūn-bāa-s-ōn dèy Yòhànnīs yì-r-à
give.birth_{POL}-IRR-3fFUT.NML name-3mPOSS.f-DEF-ACC.f TOP John say-CV-F
sùn-s-ù-tā.”
name-CAUS-IRR-2s
‘But the angel said: “Zechariah, do not be afraid! Your prayer has been heard, your wife Elizabeth will give birth to a son, you shall call him John.”’ (Official translation of chapter 1, verse 13 of the Gospel of Luke)

Admittedly, in other contexts, the semantic difference between the future forms is less straightforward. In the next example, the subject is probably aware of what he is going to do next, and in ex. (6.12) the non-nominalised future is used to make a prediction.³

- (6.11) *Hān gāddō mǎllàtōo-s-ō àss-ū-nì bǎr kārā zòodā-s-tā*
DEM new sign[ORO]-DEF-ACC.f learn.CAUS-VN-GEN.f 3sm black.f board-DEF-on
tìch-ù-nīr.
write-IRR-3mFUT.NML
‘The teacher is going to write that new letter on the blackboard.’
- (6.12) *Yèsūs “Ày-nē káb-ù-nā-wé.” yǐ.*⁴
Jesus brother-2sPOSS stand.up-IRR-3-ADR.f say
‘Jesus said: “Your brother will rise again.”’

Whereas in polar questions, the nominalised future is the only possibility, in content questions the non-nominalised variant can also be used:

- (6.13) *Āakkā āafnē gācch-ó-nā-sō?*
how eye.2sPOSS open.PASS-IRR-3-Q.m
‘How could your eye(s) be opened?’

³ Nevertheless, one could argue that in ex. (6.11) the action does not depend on the teacher’s will, and that ex. (6.12) is construed in such a way that it is not only God’s will to raise the brother from the dead, but his own, too.

⁴ This example is repeated from ex. (1.32).

6.1.2. Jussive/imperative

As in many other Ethiopian languages, jussive and imperative form a common paradigm; *imperative* refers to second person forms, *jussive* to all other persons. Semantically, jussive/imperative forms are used to get somebody to do something.

The jussive/imperative is built from the irrealis verb stem (cf. section 4.5) and has characteristic person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1). An irrealis plural marker (cf. section 4.6) may be inserted after the stem.

Irrealis stem (+ number) + person

JUSS/IMP of *bōgā* ‘tear down’

1s	<i>bōgā-nā</i>	1p	<i>bōgā-nī</i>
2s	<i>bōgā</i>	2p	<i>bōg-ō-tì</i>
2sEND	<i>bōg-tì</i>		
2sPOL	<i>bōg-nì</i>	2pPOL	<i>bōg-ósō-nì</i>
3sf	<i>bōg-ūn</i> ⁵	3pf	<i>bōg-ósō-n</i>
3sm	<i>bōg-ó</i>	3pm	<i>bōg-ósó-wó</i>
3sPOL	<i>bōg-tó</i>	3pPOL	<i>bōg-ósó-tó</i>

JUSS/IMP of *kássū* ‘bake’

1s	<i>kássū-nā</i>	1p	<i>kássū-nī</i>
2s	<i>kássū</i>	2p	<i>kássū-sō-tì</i>
2sEND	<i>kássū-tì</i>		
2sPOL	<i>kássū-nì</i>	2pPOL	<i>kássū-sō-nì</i>
3sf	<i>kássū-n</i>	3pf	<i>kássū-sō-n</i>
3sm	<i>kássū-wó</i>	3pm	<i>kássū-só-wó</i>
3sPOL	<i>kássū-tó</i>	3pPOL	<i>kássū-só-tó</i>

The tables show that in the a-class the stem vowel is often deleted, as mentioned above (section 4.5). It only appears in the 1st person singular and plural, while in the u- and o-class it appears with all persons.

The endearment form of the imperative is used frequently. It consists of the 2nd person plural form without the plural marker, e.g. *kássū-tì* ‘bake’.

In the imperative singular, the bare irrealis stem is used. However, the use of the optional address suffix *-wā/-wé* on the imperative is very common⁶. If the address suffix is attached to the singular imperative form of an a-class verb, the stem vowel

⁵ In the 3rd person feminine singular of a-class verbs an epenthetic *-u-* is inserted before the person suffix *-n*.

Where *-o* of the 3rd person masculine jussive suffix is adjacent to a vowel, an epenthetic */w/* is inserted between the two: *bōg-ósó-wó* ‘they (m.) shall tear down’, *kássū-só-wó* ‘they (m.) shall bake’

⁶ For a discussion of the address suffix see section 1.2.4 above.

6. Mood and negation

is elided. The singular imperative forms with and without the address suffix attached are shown in table 6.1.

Citation form	Imperative sg.	Imp. sg + f	Imp. sg. + m
<i>èelà</i> ‘run’	<i>èelà!</i>	<i>èel-wè!</i>	<i>èel-wà!</i>
<i>màsō</i> ‘wash’	<i>màsò!</i>	<i>màsò-wé!</i>	<i>màsò-wā!</i>
<i>kássū</i> ‘bake’	<i>kássú!</i>	<i>kássú-wé!</i>	<i>kássú-wā!</i>

Table 6.1.: Imperative forms and the address suffix

If the last consonant of the root of an a-class verb is /m/ the /w/ of the address suffix assimilates totally to it. If it is /n/ the assimilation works in the other direction: /n/ is assimilated to the velar place of articulation of /w/ and becomes /ŋ/. Both processes are exemplified here:

Imperative of *hàmà* ‘go’: *hàmmè!* (2sf), *hàmmà!* (2sm)

Imperative of *fīnā* ‘cross’: *fīng-wé* (2sf), *fīng-wā* (2sm)

The jussive/imperative has an imperfective variant, where the IPFV marker *-f* and the imperfective vowel *-oo* are suffixed to the realis stem of the verb⁷:

Jussive/imperative of *kùurū* ‘cut grass’: *kùurù-wé!* ‘cut grass!’ (f)

imperfective jussive/imperative: *kùurì-f-òo-wè!* ‘cut grass continuously!’ (f)

The IPFV variant conveys continuous or durative meaning; the action is meant to last for an extended amount of time.

The following two examples are simple imperative forms followed by the address suffix. Its use on imperative forms seems to strengthen the command and to give more weight to it.

- (6.14) “*Zàkèōs-nō, yà-r-à i’ōo-s-sī-n kèr-ò-wà.*”
 Zacchaeus-POL, come.F-CV-F tree-DEF-in-ABL descend-IRR-ADR.m
 ‘Zacchaeus, come down from the tree.’

- (6.15) *Hān-bār-òn tàamm-à īmm-à yò-tì-wà!*
 DEM-3sf-ACC.f take.to.CV-F give.CV-F come.IRR-2pIMP-ADR.m
 ‘Take this one and give it (to him) and come (back)!’

Example (6.16) shows a 3rd person jussive form:

- (6.16) *Yà-fāa-nì fùtō-nì wòllāa-s-ōn mǎkōn.*
 come.F-SEQ-2sEND.DS truth-GEN.f speech-DEF-ACC.f tell.IRR.3fJUSS
 ‘You shall come and then she shall tell you the truth.’

⁷ In fact, the IPFV suffix and the IPFV vowel could also be analysed as the irrealis variant of the verb *fō* ‘be there, live’, which is, in any case, the historical source of the IPFV suffix.

Partial homophony between future and jussive/imperative forms

Since both future and jussive/imperative verb forms are formed from an irrealis stem and person markers, they differ only in the set of person markers they use (given in section 4.8.1 above).

However, the person suffixes of both sets are identical for part of the persons, which leads to instances of homophony between future and jussive forms. Consider the following examples of future and jussive verbs in the 1st person, where the forms are identical, and in the 3rd person polite, where the forms are different:

Future 1s:	<i>hàmà-nā</i> ‘I will go’
Jussive/imperative 1s:	<i>hàmà-nā</i> ‘let me go’
Future 3POL:	<i>ěfō-nē</i> ‘He/she (pol.) will go/come’
Jussive/imperative 3POL:	<i>ěfō-tó</i> ‘let him/her (pol.) go/come’

In the 2nd person, the difference between the imperative and the future is tonal: the person suffixes *-nì* and *-tì* carry low tone in the imperative and mid in the future.

6.1.3. Optative

To form the optative, the suffix *-āw/-àw* is added after the root, followed by the optative person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1). In the 2nd person singular *-āw* combines with the person suffix to yield *-āy*. The plural suffix does not occur; therefore, the 2nd person polite and the 3rd person have common forms for both numbers in the simple form.

The suffix *-f* may be inserted between the root and the suffix *-āw/-àw*. With some verbs, it is even obligatory. However, its (non-)occurrence has no function (cf. section 7.2.5). If it occurs, the realis stem is used and the use of a realis plural suffix is possible.

Root (+ realis stem vowel (+ number) + *-f*) + *-āw/-àw* + person

Optative: *īm-àw-ng* ‘may he/she give’
 f-marked optative: *dich-f-āw-ng* ‘may he/she grow’

OPT of *īmā/kúshū* ‘give’

1s	<i>īmāw-nā</i> / <i>īm-àw-ng</i> ⁸	1p	<i>īm-āw-nì</i>
2s	<i>īm-āy</i>	2p/END	<i>īm-āw-tì</i>
	2POL	<i>kúsh-āw-nì</i>	
	3	<i>īm-àw-ng</i>	
	3POL	<i>kúsh-āw-tō</i>	

⁸ Both forms seem to be possible for the 1st person.

6. Mood and negation

Optative verbs are predominantly used in blessings. A typical example is the following:

- (6.17) *Hā'ō nē-n dīch-āw-ng.*
 God 2s-ACC grow[.CAUS]-OPT-3
 'May God let you grow.'

Although the use of the first person optative was barely acknowledged by the informants, there are examples in the text corpus, such as the following:

- (6.18) *Ìsà wònō Yèsūs āafbā [āaffā] fóontó àsù-s-séen ùp'è-r-ē [...]*
 one day Jesus eye.3mPOSS.f without man-DEF-COMIT meet-CV-M
"Bìyá-tā-k shōlē-f-àt-ò-sō?" yī-r-ē [...] mām̄sī-n; "Àa,
 see.IRR-2s-PURP want-IPFV-2s-Q-ADR_Q.m say-CV-M ask.3-DS yes
bìyá-nā-k shōlē-fàw-ng-wā" yī.
 see.IRR-1s-PURP want-OPT-1s-ADR.m say
 'One day Jesus met the blind man and asked him: "Do you want to see?" –
 "Yes, I would like to see!" he said.'

6.1.4. Counterfactual obligative

There is a special mood which will be called *counterfactual obligative*. It is used for utterances of the type 'I should have eaten more', which relate to a past event the non-occurrence of which is regretted.

The counterfactual obligative verb form is built from a root (i.e. without stem vowel), the suffix *-āwk* and the COBL person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1). An *-f* suffix is possible; in that case the realis stem is used as base, and plural suffixes are possible.

Root (+ realis stem vowel (+ number) + *-f*) + *-āwk* + person

Counterfactual obligative of *wòstō* 'work'

1s	<i>wòst-āwk-ēnà</i>	1p	<i>wòst-āwk-ēnì</i>
2s	<i>wòst-āwk-è</i>	2p/END	<i>wòst-āwk-ētì</i>
2sPOL	<i>wòst-āwk-ēnì</i>	2pPOL	<i>wòst-āwk-ēnì</i>
	3f	<i>wòst-āw-ng-k-à</i>	
	3m	<i>wòst-āwk-ē</i>	
	3POL	<i>wòst-āwk-ō</i>	

In the 3rd person feminine the COBL suffix *-āw -k* and the person suffix *-ng -ā* become discontinuous and intertwine to form the suffix *-āw-ng-k-ā*, for which there is the variant *-āwngkà* with low tones.

The following sentence can be uttered when the speaker has not eaten and realises that he/she is hungry now:

- (6.19) *Tá mūu-s-ō m̄ā'-āwk-ēnà.*
 1s food-DEF-ACC.f eat-COBL-1s

‘I should have eaten the food.’

Between the identical vowels of the verb stem and the suffix an epenthetic glottal stop is inserted with this irregular verb.

6.1.5. Interrogative future

The interrogative future form is built on an irrealis stem (cf. section 4.5), a possible irrealis plural suffix (cf. section 4.6), the suffix *-(u)nk* and a person suffix of a set which is specific to this verb form (cf. section 4.8.1 above).

Irrealis stem (+ number) + *-nk* + person

Interrogative future of *kâlâ* ‘forbid’

1s	<i>kâl-ùnk-àtâ?</i>	1p	<i>kâl-ùnk-ēni?</i>
2s	<i>kâl-ùnk-è?</i>	2p	<i>kâl-òsō-nk-ēti?</i>
2sEND	<i>kâl-ùnk-ēti?</i>		
2sPOL	<i>kâl-ùnk-ēni?</i>	2pPOL	<i>kâl-òsō-nk-ēni?</i>
3sf	<i>kâl-ùnk-à?</i>	3pf	<i>kâl-òsō-nk-ā?</i>
3sm	<i>kâl-ùnk-è?</i>	3pm	<i>kâl-òsō-nk-è?</i>
3sPOL	<i>kâl-ùnk-ō?</i>	3pPOL	<i>kâl-òsō-nk-ō?</i>

Interrogative future of *wòstō* ‘work’

1s	<i>wòstō-nk-àtâ?</i>	1p	<i>wòstō-nk-ēni?</i>
2s	<i>wòstō-nk-è?</i>	2p	<i>wòstō-sō-nk-ēti?</i>
2sEND	<i>wòstō-nk-ēti?</i>		
2sPOL	<i>wòstō-nk-ēni?</i>	2pPOL	<i>wòstō-sō-nk-ēni?</i>
3sf	<i>wòstō-nk-à?</i>	3pf	<i>wòstō-sō-nk-ā?</i>
3sm	<i>wòstō-nk-è?</i>	3pm	<i>wòstō-sō-nk-è?</i>
3sPOL	<i>wòstō-nk-ō?</i>	3pPOL	<i>wòstō-sō-nk-ō?</i>

In the a-class, represented by the verb *kâlâ* ‘forbid’, the stem vowel does not appear, but epenthetic *u* is inserted in the forms without the plural marker *-ò(sō)*. As usual, the verb classes differ with regard to the form of the plural suffix: in the a-class it is *-o(-sō)*, whereas in the other two verb classes, represented by the o-class verb *wòstō* ‘work’, it is only *-sō*.

The following example shows a sentence with this form:

- (6.20) *Niinò kâl-òsō-nk-ēni?*
 2pPOL forbid-PL-FUT_Q-2pPOL
 ‘Will/would you forbid (it)?’

In the semantics of this form, there is probably an element of doubt, especially in combination with the verb *chìimâ* ‘can, be able’:

6. Mood and negation

- (6.21) *Hān mākīnāa-s-ō chimm-ē kâl-ùnk-è?*
 DEM car[AMH]-DEF-ACC.f can.CV-M drive-FUT_Q-3m
 ‘Is he able to drive this car?’

Note that *chimà* ‘can, be able’ is not construed as main verb in this sentence but as a general converb preceding the interrogative future form.

6.2. Negation

As described in section 4.11 above, quite different strategies are used for verbal negation, resulting in a number of negative verb forms. Besides a presentation of these forms, their relation to corresponding affirmative forms will be addressed.

6.2.1. Negative simple

The negated simple is formed from the irrealis stem (cf. section 4.5), followed by a possible irrealis plural marker *-o/-só* (cf. section 4.6) and characteristic person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1). The negative particle *àané* is preposed to the verb.

Irrealis stem (+number) + person

NEG simple of *bōgā* ‘tear down’

1s	<i>bōg-ūt</i>	1p	<i>bòg-énī</i>
2s	<i>bòg-é</i>	2p/END	<i>bòg-étī</i>
2sPOL	<i>bòg-énī</i>	2pPOL	<i>bòg-ó-wénī</i>
3sf	<i>bòg-á</i>	3pf	<i>bòg-ó-wá</i>
3sm	<i>bōg-è</i>	3pm	<i>bòg-ō-wè</i>
3sPOL	<i>bōg-tō</i>	3pPOL	<i>bòg-ó-tō</i>

NEG simple of *wàagō* ‘buy/sell’

1s	<i>wàagò-t</i>	1p	<i>wàagò-wénī</i>
2s	<i>wàagò-wé</i>	2p/END	<i>wàagò-wétī</i>
2sPOL	<i>wàagò-wénī</i>	2pPOL	<i>wàag-sò-wénī</i>
3sf	<i>wàagò-wá</i>	3pf	<i>wàag-sò-wá</i>
3sm	<i>wàagō-wè</i>	3pm	<i>wàag-sō-wè</i>
3sPOL	<i>wàagò-tō</i>	3pPOL	<i>wàag-sò-tō</i>

The stem vowel does not appear in the a-class (cf. the paradigm of *bōgā* ‘tear down’). In some verbs of the o- and u-classes exemplified by *wàagō* ‘buy/sell’, it is overridden by the plural suffix *-só* (cf. section 4.6).

The negative simple is the negative counterpart to the simple verb form.

- (6.22) *Ássā mètètè-r-à kūn-f-à-à-nnēen né āané mām̄s-ù-wé.*⁹
 month be.sick-CV-F lie-f-3-TEMP₁ 2s NEG ask-IRR-2sNEG
 ‘She has been sick for a month (but) you have not visited her.’

- (6.23) *Hásh àr-ū-k āané chīm-ènī.*
 now know-VN-LOC.f NEG can-1pNEG
 ‘Now we cannot know.’

6.2.2. Negative imperfective

The negated imperfective is built on the realis stem (as are all f-marked forms, cf. section 4.5), to which a possible realis plural marker *-e/-sé* (cf. section 4.6), the IPFV suffix (cf. section 4.7) and characteristic person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1) are added. As with the negated simple, the negative particle *āané* is preposed to the verb.

Realis stem (+number) + IPFV + person

NEG imperfective of *ùp’ō* ‘meet’

1s	<i>ùp’è-f-àt</i>	1p	<i>ùp’è-f-ènī</i>
2s	<i>ùp’è-f-é</i>	2p	<i>ùp’-sè-f-ètī</i>
2sEND	<i>ùp’è-f-ètī</i>		
2sPOL	<i>ùp’è-f-ènī</i>	2pPOL	<i>ùp’-sè-f-ènī</i>
3sf	<i>ùp’è-f-à</i>	3pf	<i>ùp’-sè-f-à</i>
3sm/POL	<i>ùp’è-f-ē</i>	3pm/POL	<i>ùp’-sè-f-ē</i>

The plural suffix *-sé* overrides the stem vowel with *ùp’ō* ‘meet’ (cf. section 4.6).

The following is an example sentence containing a negative imperfective:

- (6.24) *Àfādū-nī íntō kèer-kī wòstō āané wòstè-f-ē.*
 A.-GEN.f mother house-ATTR_{LOC} work NEG work-IPFV-3POL
 ‘Afadu’s mother does not do any work in the house.’

Besides negating the imperfective, the negative imperfective negates the nominalised simple:

- (6.25) a. *És-bàrì bòor’à sìnàk àsũ(-s) innò-tī òomtě-r.*
 that-3sf.GEN reason before man-DEF 1p-ACC hate.m-NML
 ‘That’s why people used to hate us.’
 b. *Hásh bīi-r-ē bīi-r-ē āané òomtè-f-ē.*
 now see-CV-M see-CV-M NEG hate-IPFV-3POL
 ‘Now, having seen (our life) they don’t hate us anymore.’

⁹ *né* has a high instead of a rising tone because of the application of the rule SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH described in section 2.6.3.

An f-marked temporal 1 verb form has adversative meaning, cf. sections 7.4.6 and 8.10.

6.2.3. Negative progressive

The negative progressive is formed from the affirmative nominalised progressive (cf. section 4.9), followed by the negative suffix *-tá/-tè* (cf. section 4.11.2).

Realis stem (+number) + PROG + person + NML + NEG

NEG progressive of *fàadū* ‘count’

1s	<i>fàadì-dīf-à-à-r-tá</i>	1p	<i>fàadì-dīf-ènì-r-tá</i>
2s	<i>fàadì-dīf-à-tà-r-tá</i>	2p/END	<i>fàadì-dīf-ètì-r-tá</i>
2sPOL	<i>fàadì-dīf-ènì-r-tá</i>	2pPOL	<i>fàadì-sē-dīf-ènì-r-tá</i>
3sf	<i>fàadì-dīf-à-r-tá</i>	3pf	<i>fàadì-sē-dīf-à-r-tá</i>
3sm	<i>fàadì-dīf-ē-r-tè</i>	3pm	<i>fàadì-sé-dīf-ē-r-tè</i>
3sPOL	<i>fàadì-dīf-ē-r-tá</i>	3pPOL	<i>fàadì-sé-dīf-ē-r-tá</i>

/r/ of the nominalising suffix often assimilates to following /t/ from the negative suffix: *fàadì-dīf-à-à-r-tá* *fàadì-dīf-à-à-t-tá*.

The negative progressive is used as the negative counterpart of both the progressive and the nominalised progressive.

(6.26) *Tá nè-n bī-dīf-à-à-r-tá. Āy hàmit?*

1s 2s-ACC see-PROG-1s-NML-NEG where go.2s

‘I cannot see you (lit.: am not seeing you). Where have you gone?’

In contrast to the affirmative progressive, the negative progressive may also refer to the future. In the next example, it can be replaced by the negative future:

(6.27) *Tá yà-dīf-à-à-ttá / āa-fā yō-k chīm-à-nā-wūzā;*

1s come-PROG-1s-NML.NEG NEG-be.there.3f come.VN-LOC.f can-IRR-1s-thing

kèer-ũk irbā-tā¹⁰ fē-r.

house_{LOC}-LOC.f guest.m-1sPOSS.m be.there.3m-NML

‘I will not/cannot come; I have a guest at home.’

6.2.4. Negative nominalised simple

The negative nominalised simple form is built on the affirmative nominalised simple with the additional negative suffix *-tá/-tè*, the same suffix as in the negative progressive.

Realis stem (+number) + person + NML + NEG

¹⁰ The low tone of the masculine 1st person suffix *-tā* becomes mid following the tonal rule DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID described in section 2.6.3.

NEG NML simple of *dànà* ‘find’

1s	<i>dàn-nā-ttá</i>	1p	<i>dàn-nī-ttá</i>
2s	<i>dàn-tā-ttá</i>	2p/END	<i>dàn-tī-ttá</i>
2sPOL	<i>dàn-nī-ttá</i>	2pPOL	<i>dàn-è-nī-ttá</i>
3sf	<i>dànà-ttá</i>	3pf	<i>dàn-ē-ttá</i>
3sm	<i>dànǎ-ttê</i>	3pm	<i>dàn-ě-ttê</i>
3sPOL	<i>dàn-tē-ttá</i>	3pPOL	<i>dàn-è-tē-ttá</i>

NEG NML simple of *wòstō* ‘work’

1s	<i>wòstè-nā-ttá</i>	1p	<i>wòstè-nī-ttá</i>
2s	<i>wòstè-tā-ttá</i>	2p/END	<i>wòstè-tī-ttá</i>
2sPOL	<i>wòstè-nī-ttá</i>	2pPOL	<i>wòstè-sé-nī-ttá</i>
3sf	<i>wòstē-ttá</i>	3pf	<i>wòstè-sē-ttá</i>
3sm	<i>wòstě-ttê</i>	3pm	<i>wòstè-sé-ttê</i>
3sPOL	<i>wòstè-tē-ttá</i>	3pPOL	<i>wòstè-sé-tē-ttá</i>

In all examples, /r/ of the nominalising suffix assimilates to /t/ of the negative suffix; therefore, it was written that way in the example paradigms, fused with the negative suffix.

The stem vowel is dropped in the a-class, parallelling the affirmative nominalised simple; however, it remains -a in the 3rd person singular.

Contrary to what might have been expected, the negative nominalised simple form is not the counterpart of the affirmative nominalised simple (which is the negative imperfective). Rather, it is the counterpart of the future. Judging from the available examples, it is similar to the non-nominalised future functionally, conveying an intention or expectation (cf. section 6.1.1 above).

- (6.28) *Tá wònò yâ-nā-ttá.*
 1s tomorrow come.F-1s-NML.NEG
 ‘I will not come tomorrow.’

- (6.29) *Tá hèpsì hān kòdà-s-tā dĩ-nā-ttá.*
 1s again DEM chair-DEF-on sit-1s-NML.NEG
 ‘I will not sit on this chair again.’

Data is too scarce to allow for an exploration of functional differences between the negative nominalised simple and the negative future, which is presented in the next section.

6.2.5. Negative future

The negative future is a periphrastic verb form, composed of a future adnominal verb form attributed to *wūzā* ‘thing’ in a negative existential construction (cf. section 4.11.3 above). Here are two example paradigms, one of an a-class verb and one of an u-class

6. Mood and negation

verb. To each form, the negative existential marker *àafá* ‘there is not’ is pre- or post-posed.

Irrealis stem (+ number) + person + *wūzā*

NEG future of *bōgā* ‘tear down’

1s	<i>bògá-nā-wūzā</i>	1p	<i>bògá-nī-wūzā</i>
2s	<i>bògá-tā-wūzā</i>	2p/END	<i>bògá-tī-wūzā</i>
2sPOL	<i>bògá-nī-wūzā</i>	2pPOL	<i>bòg-ó-nī-wūzā</i>
3s	<i>bògá-nā-wūzā</i>	3p	<i>bòg-ósó-nā-wūzā</i>
3sPOL	<i>bòg-nē-wūzā</i>	3pPOL	<i>bòg-ósó-nē-wūzā</i>

NEG future of *kássū* ‘bake’

1s	<i>kássú-nā-wūzā</i>	1p	<i>kássú-nī-wūzā</i>
2s	<i>kássú-tā-wūzā</i>	2p/END	<i>kássú-tī-wūzā</i>
2sPOL	<i>kássú-nī-wūzā</i>	2pPOL	<i>kássú-só-nī-zā</i>
3s	<i>kássú-nā-wūzā</i>	3p	<i>kássú-só-nā-zā</i>
3sPOL	<i>kássū-nē-wūzā</i>	3pPOL	<i>kássú-sō-nē-zā</i>

In the paradigm of the a-class verb *bōgā* ‘tear down’ the stem vowel is elided in the 3rd person polite and where the plural suffix *-o(só)* overrides it. With *kássū* ‘bake’ the first syllable of *-wūzā* is regularly deleted where there is a plural suffix in the verb form.

The negative future functions as a negative counterpart of both the future and the nominalised future.

- (6.30) “*Àràmanée-ník āa-fá ím-á-nī-wūzā.*”
 pagan[AMH]-LOC.m NEG-be.there.3f give-IRR-1p-thing
 ‘“We will not give it to pagans.”’

In the next example, the existential verb is placed after the future attributive construction, which occurs here with an additional possessive suffix:

- (6.31) *És-s-éen àwjā wūzā sìn-fāa-nā-nē és-bàr-òn*
 DEM-DEF-COMIT weak thing become-SEQ-3-COND DEM-3sf-ACC.f
àat-ù-nā-wūzbà āa-fá.
 let.pass-IRR-FUT-thing.3fPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘If there was a weak person (lit.: thing) (passing by) they did not let him/her pass.’

6.2.6. Prohibitive

The prohibitive is built on the irrealis stem (cf. section 4.5) and takes the irrealis plural suffix *-o/-só* (cf. section 4.6) in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the plural. The future

person markers (cf. section 4.8.1) and the negative suffix *-tá* are added. Additionally the person markers are lengthened.

Irrealis stem (+ number) + person + *-tá*

PROH of <i>hàmà</i> /ǒfō ‘go’			
1s	(<i>hàm-nāa-tá</i>)	1p	(<i>hàmà-nīi-tá</i>)
2s	<i>hàmà-tāa-tá</i>	2p	<i>hàm-ò-tīi-tá</i>
2sEND	<i>hàmà-tīi-tá</i>		
2sPOL	<i>òfó-nīi-tá</i>	2pPOL	<i>òf-só-nīi-tá</i>
3s	<i>hàmà-nāa-tá</i>	3p	<i>hàm-ò-nāa-tá</i>
3sPOL	<i>òfó-nēe-tá</i>	3pPOL	<i>òf-só-nēe-tá</i>

PROH of <i>kássū</i> ‘bake’			
1s	(<i>kássú-nāa-tá</i>)	1p	(<i>kássú-nīi-tá</i>)
2s	<i>kássú-tāa-tá</i>	2p/END	<i>kássú-tīi-tá</i>
2sPOL	<i>kássú-nīi-tá</i>	2pPOL	<i>kássú-só-nīi-tá</i>
3s	<i>kássú-nāa-tá</i>	3p	<i>kásús-só-nāa-tá</i>
3sPOL	<i>kássū-nēe-tá</i>	3pPOL	<i>kássú-sō-nēe-tá</i> ¹¹

The 1st person forms are put into brackets because they are not really used, since commands are not uttered to oneself normally. Nevertheless, the 1st person plural form would seem possible, but speakers apparently do not use it, according to my informants.

In the a-class exemplified by *hàm-à* ‘go’¹², the stem vowel is deleted in the 1st person singular and in the forms where the plural suffix *-o* occurs, thus in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural.

As in the affirmative imperative (cf. section 6.1.2 above), gender-sensitive *-wé/-wā* can be suffixed to the 2nd person forms to add more weight to the command. The prohibitive is the negative counterpart of both the jussive/imperative and the optative.

- (6.32) *Màngū sirū nittó-tī òp’-à-nāatá.*
 bad.f wind/air 2p-ACC take-IRR-3.PROH
 ‘Bad air shall not catch you.’

- (6.33) *Hā’ō “hān-bār-òn mǔ-tūtá, mà-fāa-tī-nē kīt-ū=tū*
 God DEM-3sf-ACC.f eat.IRR-2p.PROH eat.F-SEQ-2p-COND die-VN=FOC

¹¹ In the o- and u-classes, the stem vowel can be overridden by the plural suffix (cf. section 4.6), which happens optionally in the case of *kássū* ‘bake’. This leads to the variants *kásús-só-nīi-tá* (2pPOL), *kássú-só-nāa-tá* (3p) and *kásús-só-nēe-tá* (3pPOL), where an epenthetic /u/ is inserted after the first -s.

¹² The polite counterpart of this verb, *ǒf-ō*, is in the o-class.

6. Mood and negation

kìt-ù-tì *yì-r-à=tù* *innōk hàjàjè-wé.*
 die-IRR-2p[.FUT] say-CV-f=FOC 1p.LOC command-ADR.f
 ‘God commanded us: “Do not eat (this fruit), if you eat (it) you will die.” ’

6.2.7. Negative counterfactual obligative

The counterfactual obligative (cf. section 6.1.4 in this chapter) is negated by a periphrastic verb form with the verb *shákū* ‘not do’. Thereby the negated verb assumes the form of the f-marked general quasi-converb (cf. section 8.21.1, ex. (6.34)) or the f-marked temporal 2 (cf. section 8.11; ex. (6.35)) and *shákū* ‘not do’ occurs in the counterfactual obligative or optative form.

Realis (+number) + -f + person + -rè *shákū* + -āw(*k*) + person
 Realis (+number) + -f + person + -(y)sē *shákū* + -āw(*k*) + person

(6.34) **Wòstè-f-ànà-rè** *shák-āw-ng.*
 work-f-1s/3f-QCV not.do-OPT-1s/3
 ‘If only I/she had not done (it).’

As an alternative to the general quasi-converb, the f-marked temporal 2 may also occur as the first verb:

(6.35) **Tìchì-f-ànà-ysē** *shák-āw-nà.*
 write-f-1s-TEMP₂ not.do-OPT-1s
 ‘If only I had not written (it).’

The optative person markers, not those of the counterfactual obligative set are used in the preceding two examples. It seems that the choice between the latter and the former is free.

6.2.8. Negative dependent verb forms

The negative dependent verb forms are the negative converb, the negative conditional, the negative purposive and the negative adnominal forms (cf. section 4.11 above). They will be treated with the other dependent verb forms in chapter 8 below. Alternatively, dependent verb forms may be negated using a periphrastic construction with the verb *shákā* ‘not do’ or *bèyà* ‘cease, refuse’, as in the following example of a negated concessive:

(6.36) *kùn-sì-f-ànà-k* / *kùn-s-ū* **bèy-f-ànà-k**
 lie-CAUS-CONC-1s-CONC lie-CAUS-VN refuse-CONC-1s-CONC
 ‘even if I put it down’ / ‘even if I do not put it down’

Many dependent verb forms can be preceded by the negative particle *àané*. However, in such cases, the negated action is not the one of the dependent verb, but the main verb action. Thus, the following sentences are equivalents:

- (6.37) a. **Àané** *māké-nāa-s-ī-mātó* *wòsùstò-wá*.
 NEG tell-1s-DEF-GEN.f-like work.PL.IRR-NEG.3f
 ‘They did not do as I had told (them to).’
- b. *Māké-nāa-s-ī-mātó* **āané** *wòsùstò-wá*.
 tell-1s-DEF-GEN.f-like NEG work.PL.IRR-NEG.3f
 ‘They did not do as I had told (them to).’

The main verb, which represents the negated action in both cases, occurs in its negated form. This means that the negation of the non-final verb is not achieved by *àané* and its position.

However, where the converb and the main verb form a compound verb denoting a single event in a nuclear juncture, the position of *àané* is before the converb and its scope is over both verbs, as in¹³:

- (6.38) **Àané** *wōlgì-r-à* *tèssh-ò-wá*.
 NEG return-CV-F bring-IRR-NEG.3f
 ‘She did not bring it back.’

6.2.9. Correspondence between affirmative and negative verb forms

Table 6.2 shows the affirmative and their corresponding negative verb forms.

Affirmative	Negative
Simple	NEG simple
Simple NML	NEG imperfective
Imperfective	
Progressive	NEG progressive
Progressive NML	
Future	NEG future
Future NML	NEG progressive
	NEG simple NML
Jussive/imperative	Prohibitive
Optative	
Counterfactual obligative	NEG counterfactual obligative
Interrogative future	–

¹³ See also example (8.69) in chapter 8 below.

6. Mood and negation

General converb	NEG converb
Different subject converb	
Sequential converb	
Manner converb	
Simultaneous converb	
General quasi-converb	
Iterative converb	–
Conditional	NEG conditional
Concessive	
Purposive	NEG purposive
Adnominal simple	NEG adnominal
Adnominal imperfective	
Adnominal progressive	
Adnominal future	
Similative	–
Complement form	–
Temporal 1	–
Temporal 2	–

Table 6.2.: Correspondence between affirmative and negative verb forms

The interrogative future, the iterative converb, the similative, complement, temporal 1 and temporal 2 forms lack a negative counterpart.

7. Aspect

The aspect system of Yemsa is of a dual nature with a perfective-imperfective dichotomy, which is complemented by a progressive. Neither is tense grammaticalised, nor is there a perfect category. There are two aspect markers: imperfective *-f* and progressive *-dif*, which contains imperfective *-f*. Both *-f* and *-dí* derive from main verbs historically: *-f* from the verb *fō* ‘be there, live’; *-dí* from the verb *dū* ‘sit’ (*dí-* in the realis form; cf. section 4.7).

In addition to a short description of the morphological means to code grammatical aspect in different verb forms, the major part of the chapter will be dedicated to aspectual semantics. In order to be able to grasp aspectual meanings as precisely as possible and to show their interaction with lexical semantics of verbs, I draw on the aspect theory of Johanson (1996, 2000).

Aspect turns out to be a prominent category in Yemsa because it is not only marked on main verbs, but also on most dependent, i.e. functionally non-finite verb forms in the form of the suffix *-f*. The question of how aspectual semantics is affected when combined with dependent verb forms is particularly interesting since it also depends on the semantics of the verb form in question. The semantics of a simultaneous converb, for instance, is inherently related to aspect. Furthermore, the aspectual meaning of a dependent verb form is tied to the main verb by its very nature of being dependent. Therefore, the role of aspect marking on the different dependent verb forms is addressed specifically. Curiously however, in many dependent verb forms the suffix *-f* has functions completely unrelated to aspect, as we shall see.

7.1. Johanson’s aspect theory

The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to the study of the semantics of the simple, imperfective and progressive aspectual forms, where they are in opposition to each other. This may seem a simple task at first glance, since only two aspectual morphemes are involved, in addition to an unmarked form. However, they turn out to convey quite different meanings when used with different verbs and/or different verb forms. An adequate and precise theoretical frame is needed to explain their occurrences.

The semantics of a given grammatical aspect marker interacts closely with the lexical aspect semantics of the verb with which it is used (‘aktionsart’). These inherent lexical properties must be grasped as precisely as possible. Second, we need to describe

7. Aspect

what an aspect marker actually expresses, and why, for instance, it can describe such different things as habitual and on-going actions.

A theory that handles such concepts in a precise way and that is able to explain aspect phenomena cross-linguistically is Johanson's (1996, 2000). It is similar to the Breu/Sasse theory (Breu (1985, 1996); Sasse (1991a, 1991b)) in that it also postulates five different *aktionsarts*. In addition, it is capable of explaining differences between the 'Slavic' aspect system and others in terms of markedness. It treats the aspect grammemes as markers of 'viewpoint aspect', which allows for differences in focality that explain seemingly divergent uses of one and the same aspect marker. Compared to the Breu/Sasse theory, a further aspect is postulated that adopts a posterior view on states of affairs (realised as perfect in many languages). In Yemsa, however, this aspect is not grammaticalised.

The constitutional concepts of Johanson's aspect theory will now be presented.

7.1.1. Internal phase structure (IPS)

The term *internal phase structure* is equivalent to *aktionsart* used in other models. It refers to the phasal conceptualisation of the state of affairs, which is part of the internal semantics of the verb with its possible arguments and adjuncts. By *phases* both limits and situational components of a state of affairs are meant. A state of affairs consists of the phases *initium*, *cursus* and *finis*, representing its beginning, course and end. These components seem to be universal, but they are coded differently among languages (Johanson 1996:233). Different types of internal phase structure emerge because different combinations of phases are conceptualised as relevant for a given state of affairs. They can be characterised by the presence or absence of the following features:

- Transformativity +/-[t]: initial +/-[ti], final +/-[tf]
- Momentaneousness +/-[mom] (feature of +[tf])
- Dynamism +/-[dyn] (feature of -[t])

These features combine to yield five different types of IPS, as shown in table 7.1.

Transformatives imply an *initium* or *finis*; momentaneous states of affairs consist of the *finis* only, without a relevant *cursus*. Yemsa non-momentaneous finitransformatives include verbs such as 'dry', 'become tired'; momentaneous states of affairs are represented by verbs like 'explode' and 'find', but also 'become afraid' and 'hide'. Initiotransformatives include a dynamic *initium* and a static *cursus*. Yemsa examples are 'lie (down)' or '(come to) love'. Non-transformative states of affairs are of homogenous actionality, since they are conceptualised without a crucial *initium* or *finis*. Among them, dynamic states of affairs have a natural beginning and end, but these are not conceptualised in the IPS. Static states of affairs, on the other hand, are conceptualised without natural limits. This is indicated by their limited compatibility with

Transformative	Fini- transformative +[tf]	Momentaneous +[mom]		MOM
		Non- momentaneous -[mom]	- - - - -	FINTR
	Initiotransformative +[ti]		- - - - -	INITR
Non-transformative	Dynamic +[dyn]		- - - - -	DYN
	Static -[dyn]		- - - - -	STAT

Table 7.1.: Types of internal phase structure

ingressive or egressive expressions (e.g. ‘begin to do sth’ or ‘cease doing sth’; Johanson (1996:234-236)). Among the dynamic states of affairs in Yemsa are verbs like ‘work’ and ‘read’. Static states of affairs, however, have not been found; every potentially static state of affairs is conceptualised as initiotransformative, including its initium.

Johanson assumes that the IPS is modifiable under certain conditions. A transformative state of affairs can be interpreted serially (+[s]), which leads to the loss of its transformativity. Not only one, but several successive transformations are encoded. In Yemsa, this applies to momentaneous states of affairs when used with the progressive aspect (cf. section 7.3.2 below). Furthermore, arguments or adjuncts can change the IPS: Non-transformational dynamic states of affairs (e.g. ‘eat’) can become transformational when an object is added (e.g. ‘eat dinner’). Initiotransformative states of affairs can become confined to one of their phases in combination with certain adjuncts (Johanson (1996:237); cf. ex. (7.32) in section 7.3.4 below).

7.1.2. Viewpoint aspect

Aspect is the perspective from which the state of affairs is presented; thus Johanson uses the term *viewpoint aspect* for it. The internal phase structure of the state of affairs remains intact (Johanson 1996:239). Therefore, unlike other aspect theories, his theory cannot be characterised as a ‘selection theory’, where aspect is seen to pick certain phases of the IPS. The viewpoint-like nature of aspect is described by Johanson in the following way:

‘Viewpoint operators do not select certain phases, as phasal devices do. They do not pick out certain portions of the actional content, but may just give prominence to phases typical of the respective actional classes.’

(Johanson 2000:146)

Johanson operates with the following aspect types:

7. Aspect

- Intraterminality +/-INTRA
- Adterminality +/-AD
- Postterminality +/-POST

Johanson (1996:243-244) emphasises that the categories ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ are not sufficient to account for aspect phenomena cross-linguistically. One reason is that in some languages perfective is the marked counterpart, whereas in others, it is imperfective. Therefore, he postulates two subtypes of perfectivity (+AD, -INTRA) and two of imperfectivity (+INTRA, -AD). Intraterminality views the state of affairs within its limits; adterminality refers to relevant limits (Johanson 2000:29). Intraterminality entails that imperfective is the marked category, whereas adterminality has perfectivity as the marked category. Adterminality operates in most Slavic languages, intraterminality in most of the other dual aspect systems.

The category of postterminality (+/-POST) refers to what is commonly known as perfect (i.e. the feature +POST). The postterminal perspective views a state of affairs after the crucial limit is reached. This means that with +[ti] states of affairs the point of reference lies within the IPS, in the static cursus phase, whereas with +[tf] states of affairs it is outside the IPS, after a crucial limit has been reached. Therefore, aspect cannot be said to select phases, but to define the viewpoint (Johanson 2000:160). Depending on the degree of focality (cf. section 7.1.3 below), postterminal aspect may emphasise the state of affairs or the postterminal situation (Johanson 2000:108ff). The postterminal aspect is not conceived as (partly) coding tense, but it can relate to tense and shows a natural affinity to past tense, just as the +INTRA aspect shows natural affinity to present tense (Johanson 2000:36). It is not the state of affairs itself, but the postterminal perspective on it which is connected to a later reference time (Johanson 1996:241).

For the description of Yemsa aspect, only the category of intraterminality (+/-INTRA) is relevant.

7.1.3. Degrees of focality

Focality is an important concept to describe aspectual differences (cf. Johanson (2000:38)). The concept of focality is a scalar one, i.e. it varies gradually, and can be applied both to intraterminal and postterminal aspect. Both categories operate from a deictic perspective with the reference time as their deictic centre. This perspective can be wide or narrow. A narrow perspective entails high focality: the fact in question is valid at reference time only. If the perspective is wide, focality is low and the validity of a fact is extended. Johanson uses the terms high-focal, low-focal and non-focal for the different degrees of focality, and he offers the examples shown in table 7.2.

	+INTRA	+POST
High-foc	Progressive	Stative, resultative; Engl. <i>is gone</i>
Low-foc	Continuous, Habitual	Perfect, constative; Engl. <i>has gone</i>
Non-foc	(more general meanings)	(more general meanings)

Table 7.2.: Degrees of focality (Johanson 2000:39; 112, 115, 119)

The definitions of the +POST and +INTRA aspects apply without restriction only to the respective types that are of higher focality, since low- or non-focal meanings are often blurred. Less focal aspect types often also code meanings of higher-focal aspects (Johanson 2000:39).

Generally, newly grammaticalised forms are of high focality and take the place of older forms. These, in turn, come to be restricted to lower focality (Johanson 2000:99).

7.2. Aspect semantics in main verbs

Before turning to the interaction of the different types of internal phase structure with the three aspect forms simple, imperfective and progressive, the morphology and the most common uses of these aspects are presented in this section. A helpful tool in determining their function was Dahl's (1985) questionnaire, from which the majority of sample sentences are taken. The numbers in brackets refer to their numeration in that questionnaire. However, the findings do not rely solely on the elicited examples but on narrative texts as well.

I will start with the imperfective, since this is the marked counterpart of the simple-imperfective dichotomy. Progressive, in turn, is a more focal subtype of the imperfective.

As a general observation, the use of plural-marked verb forms is not obligatory with plural referents. This is valid for all verb forms.

7.2.1. Imperfective

To form the imperfective, the imperfective suffix *-f* (cf. section 4.7) and the imperfective person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1) are added to a realis stem, after a possible realis plural marker. This means that morphologically, the imperfective is a simple form extended by an imperfective marker.¹

¹ And with the simple person markers replaced by the imperfective ones.

The different tones on the root of e.g. *bōgā* 'tear down' in the IPFV and simple paradigms (such as *bōg-f-ān* 1s IPFV and *bōg-í-n* 1s simple) are due to the application of the rule LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH (cf. section 2.6.3) in the IPFV but not in the simple. As a consequence, EMERGENCE OF LOW (2.6.3) operates in the simple, but not in the imperfective.

7. Aspect

Realis stem (+ number) + *-f* + person

Imperfective of *bōgā* ‘tear down’

1s	<i>bōg-f-àn</i>	1p	<i>bōg-f-ènì</i>
2s	<i>bōg-f-àt</i>	2p/END	<i>bōg-f-ètì</i>
2sPOL	<i>bōg-f-ènì</i>	2pPOL	<i>bòg-ésē-f-ènì</i>
3sf	<i>bōg-f-à</i>	3pf	<i>bòg-ésē-f-à</i>
3sm/POL	<i>bōg-f-ē</i>	3pm/POL	<i>bòg-ésé-f-ē</i>

Imperfective of *dùudō* ‘try, practise’

1s	<i>dùudè-f-àn</i>	1p	<i>dùudè-f-ènì</i>
2s	<i>dùudè-f-àt</i>	2p/END	<i>dùudè-f-ètì</i>
2sPOL	<i>dùudè-f-ènì</i>	2pPOL	<i>dùudè-sē-f-ènì</i>
3sf	<i>dùudè-f-à</i>	3pf	<i>dùudè-sē-f-à</i>
3sm/POL	<i>dùudè-f-ē</i>	3pm/POL	<i>dùudè-sé-f-ē</i>

As with other verb forms, the form and occurrence of the plural marker is subject to some variation. In the paradigms shown, it is not used for the 2nd person plural, although it would be possible. With the a-class verb *bōgā* ‘tear down’ it is *-esé*, *-sé* being an optional part. With the o-class verb *dùudō* ‘try, practise’ it occurs as *-sé*².

The imperfective aspect is used when talking about habitual actions such as the following:

‘What your brother usually DO after breakfast?’ (Q18)

- (7.1) *Bǎr tíchā=tū tìchì-f-ē.*
 3sm letter=FOC write-IPFV-3m
 ‘He writes LETTERS/A LETTER.’

Tense is not grammaticalised for habitual actions, as ex. (7.1) may also be understood as describing a past state of affairs:

‘What your brother usually DO after breakfast last summer?’ (Q20)

- (7.1') *Bǎr tíchā=tū tìchì-f-ē.*
 3sm letter=FOC write-IPFV-3m
 ‘He wrote LETTERS/A LETTER.’

In narrative texts, imperfective aspect is common in descriptions of processes such as house building, wedding procedure, ensete processing, and so on.

² *-sé* is sometimes downstepped to *-sē* according to the rule LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH described in section 2.6.3.

- (7.2) ...*äafā* *kèetè-r-à*, *sháa'ā* *kèchè-r-à*, *gàmālā* *dī-r-à*, *hō'ā*
 top.of.roof build.PASS-CV-F grass connect.PASS-CV-F door sit-CV-F mud
ícchē-r-à *măat-tē-r-à* ***dī-s-tē-f-à***.
 hit.PASS-CV-F flatten-PASS-CV-F sit-CAUS-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘...the top circle of the roof is built, the grass is attached, the door is inserted,
 mud is thrown (on the wall) and flattened, (like this the house) is set up.’

Occasionally, a repetition of identical IPFV forms occurs. This conveys a longer duration of an event, as in ex. (7.3).

- (7.3) *Hān* *kèyāa-s* ***hām-f-à*** ***hām-f-à***.
 DEM house-DEF go-IPFV-3f go-IPFV-3f
 ‘These houses, they go on and on.’

The Yemsa imperfective is an aspect of low focality, with a wide perspective on the described state of affairs. This becomes particularly clear when we compare it to the high-focal progressive (cf. section 7.2.4 below). This observation agrees with the assumed way of grammaticalisation. The imperfective seems to represent an older grammaticalisation than the progressive—even though for both the sources are still transparent (cf. section 7.2.4)—for the following reasons: First, the imperfective has a wider distribution, since it is also used with dependent forms, whereas the progressive is restricted to main verbs.³ Second, the progressive marker *-dí* cannot appear without the imperfective marker and is thus to be regarded as a later specification of the imperfective.

7.2.2. Simple

The unmarked realis main verb form has perfective value, but it can be used in less typically perfective contexts as well. Therefore, and because it contains no specific marker, the term *simple* was chosen.

The simple is formed from the realis stem (cf. section 4.5) to which a possible realis plural marker *-e/-sé* (cf. section 4.6) and the simple person suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1) are added.

Realis stem (+ number) + person

Simple of <i>bōgā</i> ‘tear down’			
1s	<i>bōg-í-n</i>	1p	<i>bōg-nī</i>
2s	<i>bōg-í-t</i>	2p	<i>bōg-é-tī</i> / <i>bōg-tī</i>
2sEND	<i>bōg-tī</i>		
2sPOL	<i>bōg-nī</i>	2pPOL	<i>bōg-é-nī</i>
3s	<i>bōg-í</i>	3p	<i>bōg-é</i>
3sPOL	<i>bōg-tē</i>	3pPOL	<i>bōg-é-tē</i>

³ To be precise, it also occurs on the adnominal verb form.

7. Aspect

Simple of *dùudō* ‘try, practise’

1s	<i>dùudě-n</i>	1p	<i>dùudè-nī</i>
2s	<i>dùudě-t</i>	2p/END	<i>dùudè(-sé)-tī</i>
2sEND	<i>dùudè-tī</i>		
2sPOL	<i>dùudè-nī</i>	2pPOL	<i>dùudè-sé-nī</i>
3s	<i>dùudè</i>	3p	<i>dùudè-sé</i>
3sPOL	<i>dùudè-tē</i>	3pPOL	<i>dùudè-sé-tē</i>

When comparing the two verbs, we can see that the stem vowel is -e in the o-class forms. In the a-class, it drops or is replaced by an epenthetic/paragogic *i* in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person of the singular (cf. *bòg-ín*, *bòg-ít*, *bòg-í*).

The plural marker is -e with a-class verbs and -sé with o-class verbs and is present in the 2nd and 3rd plural forms. In the 2nd plural, however, its occurrence is optional. A further -sé can be added to any instance of the plural marker, yielding e.g. *bòg-é-sé* (3p) or *dùudè-sé-sé-nī* (2pPOL).

Since the simple is aspectually unmarked, it views actions as wholes, without any specification of their temporal extension. It has a natural affinity to the past, but is not confined to it (cf. ex. (7.8)). Since neither tense nor +/-POST aspect are grammatical categories in Yemsa, simple is used for contexts where other languages use specific past, perfect, or pluperfect forms, as in ex. (7.4), (7.5) and (7.6):

‘When you visited your brother yesterday, what he DO after you had dinner?’ (Q13)

(7.4) *Bǎr tíchā tìchì.*

3sm letter write

‘He wrote a letter/letters.’

‘I want to give your brother a book to read, but I don’t know which. Is there any of these books that he READ already?’ (Q53)

(7.5) *Bǎr hān màs’áfāa-s-ōn féréti.*

3sm DEM book[AMH]-DEF-ACC.f read

‘He has read this book.’

‘What did you find out when you came to town yesterday?’ (Q67)

(7.6) *Tàatōo-s kitì.*

king.m-DEF die

‘The king had died.’

In the following example, the simple form is used not because the event referred to is short or ‘transitional’, but simply because an intraterminal perspective is absent

(cf. Johanson (2000:54f)). This again favours the view of this aspect as the unmarked counterpart of a +/-INTRA dichotomy.

- (7.7) *Tàatöö-s kèez-āsir nèyà hā'i-si.*
 king.m-DEF three-ten year be.administered-CAUS
 'The king reigned for thirty years.'

In addition, a performative speech act like the following is formed with the simple aspect (Q125):

- (7.8) *Tá wònò nè-kī yō-nā-k tēyyà girīn.*
 1s tomorrow 2s-at come.IRR-1s-PURP oath enter.1s
 'I promise to come to you tomorrow.'

The following is an example from a narrative text⁴:

- (7.9) *Ìzgin màjà-nāwā isà éetó-nā mèrik-sè-r-ē dùp-ō-sī hām-ē-tē.*
 nine hyena.m-and.m one lion.m-and.m discuss-PL-CV-M hunt-VN-in go-PL-3POL
 'Nine hyenas and one lion decided to go hunting.'

Durative aspect conveyed by a periphrastic verb form

There is a periphrastic construction with the manner converb and the simple of *fō* 'be there, live' which yields a durative meaning:

- (7.10) *Àsù-nī-mèyà⁵ Hā'ō-s-kī wōl-sō-nē-k, Hā'ō-s-ō*
 man-GEN.m-PL_{HUM} God-DEF-at return-PL_{IRR}-3POL-PURP God-DEF-ACC.f
àmàn-sò-nē-k, bōor'-bèsì-s-tā-n wōl-sō-nē-k
 believe-PL_{IRR}-3POL-PURP fault-3POL.POSS-DEF-on-ABL return-PL_{IRR}-3POL-PURP
màké-t=tú fē.
 tell.M-SS=FOC be.there.3m
 'He kept telling the people to return to God, to believe in God, to return from their sin.'

The same effect is achieved by a compound verb with a general converb and *fō*, see ex. (8.14), (8.16), (8.34).

7.2.3. Nominalised simple

The simple form may occur with a nominaliser *-r* at the end. In this case, some of the person markers differ from the simple form, and there is a gender opposition in the 3rd person (cf. section 4.9).

Realis stem (+ number) + person + NML

⁴ The whole text can be found in the appendix under A.1.

⁵ I recall that nominal plurals are formed with the genitive suffix, see section 3.2.1.

7. Aspect

The function of the nominalised simple is difficult to describe. It has aspectual functions at least secondarily, and therefore it is addressed here. Because the use of the nominaliser *-r* on verbs is licensed by the focus marker *=tu* it is not simply a durative marker, as was suggested by Schaumberger (MSa). Rather, it is related to information structure; its function in marking theticity was addressed in section 1.2.4.

In addition to this function (or as an aspectual consequence of it?) it is indeed often used to refer to events of a longer duration, e.g.:

- (7.11) *Bār wōnnāwōnnā óchá-r.*
 3sm always cough.m-NML
 ‘He coughed often.’

It may be used in habitual contexts which are also referred to by means of an imperfective:

- (7.12) *Bār wōnnāwōnnā isà sǎatī kóosī kássě-r* \simeq *kássě-f-ē.*
 3sm every.day/always one hour[AMH] ball play.m-NML play-IPFV-3m
 ‘Every day he plays football for an hour.’

It is especially common with verbs of the initiotransformative internal phase structure⁶ where it refers to the static phase of verbs like ‘love’, ‘like’, ‘hate’, ‘know’:

- (7.13) *Tà mǎshkā nàwàa-s-ō kèeshtè-nā-r / shùn-nā-r.*
 my female girl-DEF-ACC.f love-1s-NML like-1s-NML
 ‘I love/like my daughter.’

As the aspectual functions of the nominalised simple are thought to be secondary entailments of its function to mark theticity, it is not considered as a constitutive part of the Yemsa aspect system and will therefore not be systematically included in the discussion of aspect semantics.

7.2.4. Progressive

Morphologically, the progressive is an extension of the imperfective: The suffix *-dí* (cf. section 4.7) is inserted before the imperfective suffix *-f*, either directly after the realis stem or after the realis plural suffix *-e/sé*. The person suffixes are those of the imperfective set (cf. section 4.8.1).

Realis stem (+ number) + *-dí* + *-f* + person

⁶ See below in section 7.3.4 for a characterisation of the interaction between aspect and this internal phase structure.

Progressive of *dànà* ‘find’

1s	<i>dàn-dī-f-àn</i>	1p	<i>dàn-dī-f-ènì</i>
2s	<i>dàn-dī-f-àt</i>	2p	<i>dàn(-èsē)-dī-f-ètì</i>
2sEND	<i>dàn-dī-f-ètì</i>		
2sPOL	<i>dàn-dī-f-ènì</i>	2pPOL	<i>dàn-èsē-dī-f-ènì</i>
3sf	<i>dàn-dī-f-à</i>	3pf	<i>dàn-èsē-dī-f-à</i>
3sm	<i>dàn-dī-f-ē</i>	3pm	<i>dàn-èsé-dí-f-ē</i>
3sPOL	<i>dàn-dī-f-ē</i>	3pPOL	<i>dàn-èsé-dí-f-ē</i>

Progressive of *fàadū* ‘count’

1s	<i>fàadī-dī-f-àn</i>	1p	<i>fàadī-dī-f-ènì</i>
2s	<i>fàadī-dī-f-àt</i>	2p	<i>fàadī(-sē)-dī-f-ètì</i>
2sEND	<i>fàadī-dī-f-ètì</i>		
2sPOL	<i>fàadī-dī-f-ènì</i>	2pPOL	<i>fàadī-sē-dī-f-ènì</i>
3sf	<i>fàadī-dī-f-à</i>	3pf	<i>fàadī-sē-dī-f-à</i>
3sm	<i>fàadī-dí-f-ē</i>	3pm	<i>fàadī-sé-dí-f-ē</i>
3sPOL	<i>fàadī-dí-f-ē</i>	3pPOL	<i>fàadī-sé-dí-f-ē</i>

The suffix *-dí* carries mid tone before a person suffix with low tone, according to the rule LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH discussed in section 2.6.3.

Basically, the imperfective of the verb *dū* ‘sit (down)’ is suffixed to a realis stem (and a possible plural marker) in the formation of the progressive. However, there is a difference in vowel length between the suffix *-dí* and the verb *dí-* (realis of ‘sit (down)’), which is related to stress (cf. section 2.5), e.g.

Progressive	<i>fàadī-dí-f-ē</i>	[fà:di:di:fē]	‘he is counting’
Imperfective	<i>dí-f-ē</i>	[dí:fē]	‘he sits’

The nominalised progressive, where *-r* is added to the verb form (cf. section 4.9), is used interchangeably with the non-nominalised form.

The progressive is a highly focal subtype of the imperfective and describes on-going action.

‘What your brother DO right now?’ (Q5)

(7.14) *Bār tichā tichī-díf-ē.*

3sm letter write-PROG-3m

‘He is writing a letter/letters.’ [I can see him]

‘Has your brother finished the letter?’ (Q155)

(7.15) *Īndàané, hásh-néen tichī-díf-ē.*

no now-COMIT write-PROG-3m

‘No, he is still writing.’

7. Aspect

As with the other aspects, past or present time reference is not differentiated:

- (7.16) *Tá yà-f-ànà kābāa-s-īk bāassò tār'-sè-díf-ē.*
1s come.F-IPFV-1s time-DEF-LOC.f 3pPOL eat_{POL}-PL-PROG-3POL
'They were eating when I came.'

The following example is taken from an oral text:

- (7.17) *Ràhēl hásh ìzgìn-sā=tū àrì-díf-à.*
R. now nine-ORD=FOC learn/know-PROG-3f
'Rahel is now in 9th grade.'

Admittedly, the last example is not a high-focal instance of the progressive. I will turn to this problem in section 7.3.5 below. Apparently, the IPS of the verb *àrū* 'learn, know' is of a special type that allows for less focal readings as well.

7.2.5. Other aspect-marked main verb forms

Other main verb forms besides those presented above include the moods future, jussive/ imperative, optative and counterfactual obligative (cf. chapter 4), of which all but the future have simple and imperfective-marked forms. Further main verb forms which show aspectual distinctions are found among the negative and interrogative forms. Their aspectual semantics will not be treated further, as I will concentrate on the affirmative declarative forms in this chapter. Here I only provide a short recapitulation in table 7.3 (partly repeated from table 4.17 in section 4.7). The mood, negative and interrogative forms were presented in chapter 6 and in section 4.12.

As for morphology, I recall that all IPFV- and PROG-marked forms are based on the realis stem, regardless of the type of stem or root that the corresponding simple form is built on (cf. section 4.5 above).

Semantically, the IPFV-marked jussive/imperative conveys a temporal extension compared to the simple form. With the optative and counterfactual obligative verb forms, the variation between simple and f-marked forms is lexically determined and does not convey a semantic difference. As for the negative and interrogative forms, their aspect meaning is basically the same as that of their corresponding declarative forms (although they have not been explicitly studied from that point of view).

7.3. Interaction of aspect and internal phase structure

From the IPS types posited by Johanson (1996); (2000) all but the static $-[t]$ $-[dyn]$ IPS are found in Yemsa:

- Finitransformative non-momentaneous $+[tf]$ $-[mom]$, henceforth FINTR

7.3. Interaction of aspect and internal phase structure

		Simple	Imperfective	Progressive	Cit.
DECL	1s	<i>dùudě-n</i>	<i>dùudè-f-àn</i>	<i>dùudè-dif-àn</i>	<i>dùudō</i> 'try'
JUSS/IMP	2s	<i>kùurù-wé!</i>	<i>kùuri-f-òowè!</i>		<i>kùurū</i> 'cut grass'
OPT	3s	<i>sháab-àwng</i>	<i>shāab-f-āwng</i>		<i>sháabā</i> 'milk'
COBL	3sf	<i>sháab-āwnkā</i>	<i>shāab-f-āwnkā</i>		<i>sháabā</i> 'milk'
NEG DECL	1s	<i>àané wòstò-t</i>	<i>àané wòstè-f-àt</i>		<i>wòstō</i> 'work'
NEG DECL NML	1s/ 3sf	<i>wòstè-nāttá</i>		<i>wòstè-dif-àtàrtá</i>	<i>wòstō</i> 'work'
INT	2s	<i>ùp'è-tó?</i>	<i>ùp'è-f-àtò?</i>	<i>ùp'è-dif-àtò?</i>	<i>ùp'ō</i> 'meet'
INT NML	2s	<i>ùp'è-tārō?</i>		<i>ùp'è-dif-àtārò?</i>	<i>ùp'ō</i> 'meet'

Table 7.3.: Aspect-marking in main verb forms

- Finitransformative momentaneous +[tf] +[mom], henceforth MOM
- Initiotransformative +[ti], henceforth INITR
- Nontransformative dynamic -[t] +[dyn], henceforth DYN

I will now consider the effects that the three aspect forms—simple, imperfective and progressive—have when they are combined with verbs of different internal phase structures.

7.3.1. Dynamic (DYN)

Verbs of dynamic IPS combine with the imperfective aspect to yield a habitual reading, with the progressive for a high-focal progressive reading and with the simple aspect to view the state of affairs as a whole (usually in the past). They may combine with *kābū* 'stand up, begin' (ex. (7.19)) and *bèyà* 'refuse, stop' (ex. (7.20)), or with the indication of a duration, e.g. 'for two hours'. The imperfective form is combinable with the adverb *wònnāwònnā* 'always', whereas the progressive form combines with *hásh* 'now'. The following examples are all instances of the verb *bàgà* 'divide'.

Simple:

- (7.18) *Nàwàa-s mèyàa-s-ō* **bàgì.**
girl-DEF grain-DEF-ACC.f divide

7. Aspect

‘The girl divided the grain.’

- (7.19) *Nàwàa-s mèyàa-s-ō bāg-à-nā-k⁷ kàbì.*
 girl-DEF grain-DEF-ACC.f divide-IRR-3-PURP stand.up
 ‘The girl started to divide the grain.’

- (7.20) *Nàwàa-s mèyàa-s-ō bāg-à bèyì.*
 girl-DEF grain-DEF-ACC.f divide-VN cease/refuse
 ‘The girl finished dividing the grain.’

Imperfective:

- (7.21) *Nàwàa-s mèyàa-s-ō àach-ò-nā bòor’à=tū (wònnāwònnā)*
 girl-DEF grain-DEF-ACC.f distribute.PASS-IRR-3 reason=FOC always
bāg-f-à.
 divide-IPFV-3f
 ‘The girl (always) divides the grain because (she wants it to) be distributed.’

Progressive:

- (7.22) *Nàwàa-s mèyàa-s-ō (hásh) bāg-dīf-à.*
 girl-DEF grain-DEF-ACC.f now divide-PROG-3f
 ‘The girl is dividing the grain (now).’

Other examples of DYN verbs include *wòstō* ‘work’, *férétū* ‘read’, *bēlō* ‘browse’ and *wòllō* ‘talk’.

7.3.2. Finitransformative momentaneous (MOM)

MOM verbs are like DYN verbs in that they are referred to as habitual actions by the imperfective aspect and as single, usually past, actions by the simple aspect.

Simple:

- (7.23) *Nàwàa hātísshé.*
 girl-DEF sneeze
 ‘The girl sneezed.’

Imperfective:

- (7.24) *Kèyà-s-sī fútí-nā kābā-k=tū hātísshē-f-à.*
 house-DEF-in sweep-3 time-LOC.f=FOC sneeze-IPFV-3f
 ‘When she sweeps the house she sneezes.’

⁷ This may seem an atypical use of the purposive. However, the purposive and the long verbal noun are often interchangeable in Yemsa, and there are no verbs that specifically call for either a purposive or a long VN before them, cf. section 8.17.

7.3. Interaction of aspect and internal phase structure

The progressive, by contrast, yields a serial reading:

- (7.25) *Bār tūrūrū mērè-f-à; hātīsshē-dīf-à-r.*
 3sf cold become.sick-IPFV-3f sneeze-PROG-3f-NML
 ‘She has got a cold and is sneezing.’

The difference between habitual and serial readings lies in the degree of focality: the states of affairs in the habitual reading (denoted by the imperfective) are not necessarily temporally close, but since the perspective is wide (low-focal) they can be perceived as constituting parts of a less specified, on-going state of affairs that is described using the imperfective aspect, just as habitual actions of DYN verbs would be.

The serial reading, on the other hand, is unique with the progressive of MOM verbs and does not occur with other internal phase structures. With this reading the single actions are temporally close together and thus construed as a series rather than as repeated single states of affairs even though the focality is high, i.e. the perspective on the state of affairs is narrow. This is possible because MOM states of affairs have no cursus and are thus very short in duration, thus successive MOM states of affairs can easily be perceived as one state of affairs, which is described as on-going at the temporal point of reference.

As pointed out above (section 7.1.1), Johanson assumes that the serial reading is a modification of the internal phase structure. However, I do not adopt this view for Yemsa, since the serial reading is brought about by a grammatical aspect (progressive), not a dedicated IPS modifier. The serial reading is simply a function of the progressive aspect when combined with verbs of the MOM internal phase structure.

Occasionally, a less focal meaning can be conveyed by a MOM verb in the progressive:

- (7.26) *Bār wōnnāwōnnā wōstō-bà-s-ī wāagā-nō dān-dīf-à.*
 3sf always work-3fPOSS.f-DEF-GEN.f price-ACC.f find-PROG-3f
 ‘She always gets (lit.: finds) the salary for (lit.: of) her work.’

Further MOM verbs in Yemsa include *jò’ō* ‘explode’, *ùp’ō* ‘meet’, *dīgō* ‘become afraid’, *dăagō* ‘forget’.

7.3.3. Finitransformative non-momentaneous (FINTR)

With the simple aspect, the whole state of affairs of FINTR verbs, with both the cursus and the endpoint, is viewed:

- (7.27) *Bār mērō-bà-s-sī-n fārì.*
 3sf sickness-3fPOSS.f-DEF-in-ABL recover
 ‘She recovered from her sickness.’

The progressive in turn focuses on the cursus phase before the endpoint is reached:

7. Aspect

- (7.28) *Gārō-gārō-nō fārī-dīf-à.*
 little-little-ADV recover-PROG-3f
 ‘She is getting well little by little.’

The imperfective again views the whole state of affairs, but as a habitual action:

- (7.29) *Gērō-kī sīrūu-s kóochō sīn-fāa-nā-nē māmā nībīnībī=tū*
 outside-ATTR_{LOC} air-DEF cold become-SEQ-3-COND clothes slowly=FOC
īchīm-f-à.
 dry-IPFV-3f
 ‘If the air is moist clothes dry slowly.’

Other FINTR verbs include *āachō* ‘hide’, *būunnyō* ‘become turbid’ or *fōrō* ‘become white’.

7.3.4. Initiotransformative (INITR)

The interaction of initiotransformative verbs with the different aspects is more complex, as there is more than one possible reading with each grammatical aspect.

When verbs with an initiotransformative IPS are combined with the simple aspect, the starting point of the state of affairs is within the aspectual view:

- (7.30) *Bār-ī bīi-nāasē mī’īn.*
 3sm-ACC.m see-3.TEMP₂ (start.to.)laugh.1s
 ‘When I saw him I started to laugh.’

INITR verbs are not combinable with the verb *kābū* ‘stand up, begin’, which sets them apart from the DYN verbs.

Since no endpoint is conceptualised in the IPS, INITR verbs are (like DYN verbs) combinable with the verb *bēyà* ‘cease, refuse’:

- (7.31) *Gārō wōnà-nēen òrfō mī’-à bēyīn.*
 little time-COMIT.f after (start.to.)laugh-VN cease/refuse.1s
 ‘After a little time I stopped laughing.’

The other possible reading of the simple combined with an INITR verb is the view of the whole state of affairs taking place within a certain time span, if there is an indication of duration. In such a context, INITR verbs behave like DYN verbs (cf. section 7.3.1):

- (7.32) *Tá isà sà’ātī mī’īn.*
 1s one hour (start.to.)laugh.1s
 ‘I laughed for one hour.’

If INITR verbs are combined with the imperfective, this aspect may refer to the cursus after the starting point, unlike the other IPS:

7.3. Interaction of aspect and internal phase structure

- (7.33) *Nàwàa-s bàr-ò shóotí-nā bòor'à=tū mī'ì-f-à.*
 girl-DEF 3sf-ACC.f make.happy-3 reason=FOC (start.to.)laugh-IPFV-3f
 'The girl is laughing because she wants to make her happy.'

- (7.34) *Hásshé bàr dī-f-à.*
 still.now 3sf sit(.down)-IPFV-3f
 'Still now, she is sitting (here).'

The progressive, on the other hand, may refer to the state of affairs immediately before its starting point, as if the starting point itself were viewed in a high-focal, 'slow-motion' manner:

- (7.35) *Dī-dīf-à.*
 sit(.down)-PROG-3f
 'She is about to sit down.'

However, the imperfective occasionally conveys a habitual reading, and the focal view on the cursus is taken over by the progressive. This is shown by the following pair of an IPFV with a habitual reading and a progressive of the verb *súumō* 'be/become sad':

- (7.36) *Năa-s maktè-nā bòor'à=tū (wònnāwònnā) súumé-f-ē.*
 boy-DEF become.hungry-3 reason=FOC always become/be.sad-IPFV-3m
 'The boy is (always) sad because he is hungry.'

- (7.37) *Năa-s maktè-nā bòor'à=tù⁸ (hásh) súumé-dīf-ē.*
 boy-DEF become.hungry-3 reason=FOC now become/be.sad-PROG-3m
 'The boy is (now) sad because he is hungry.'

This allocation of aspectual readings seems to be a possibility of most INITR verbs. However, the progressive referring to the cursus (as in ex. (7.37)) is far more common than the IPFV with a habitual reading (as in ex. (7.36)): With INITR verbs, habitual is regularly conveyed by nominalised simple verb forms. This is so except in the case of the negative, where IPFV is used because the occurrence of a nominalised verb form is banned if it is negated or occurs next to a focussed constituent.⁹ This is shown in the next two examples:

- (7.38) *Bār isàwà isàwà mī'ā-r.*
 3sf once once (start.to.)laugh.f-NML
 'She laughs once in a while.'

⁸ The tone of *bòor'à=tù* in this example differs from the tone in the preceding example because in ex. (7.36) the rule DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID applies before the low tone of *wònnāwònnā*, cf. section 2.6.3.

⁹ The only exception is the subject focus construction, where the subject is focussed by *=tu* and the verb occurs in a nominalised 3rd person form, cf. section 1.2.4 and Zaugg-Coretti (2009).

7. Aspect

- (7.39) *Bàr àané mî'-f-â*¹⁰.
 3sf NEG (start.to.)laugh-IPFV-3f
 'She does not laugh.'

This specific allocation of aspectual readings suggests that the high-focal use of the imperfective is gradually taken over by the progressive, since the progressive is more recent. As stated above (section 7.1.3), the emergence of new high-focal forms that replace older ones, which in turn become restricted to low-focal uses, is a common development cross-linguistically. For Yemsa, this means that INITR is the last internal phase structure where IPFV can be used with a non-habitual meaning. There, too, it is becoming more and more restricted, before eventually turning into a habitual marker, at least in main verbs.

The use of the progressive to refer to a pre-phase (as in ex. (7.35)) is interesting because it poses the question whether that pre-phase should be included in the conceptualisation of the INITR internal phase structure. A verb which apparently has such a pre-phase is *ârû* 'learn/know'.

7.3.5. A verb with two cursus phases: *ârû* 'learn/know'

The verb *ârû* 'learn, know' seems to be conceptualised as a three-phase verb, with a cursus phase, a FINTR endpoint which is at the same time an INITR starting point, and another cursus phase:

----- || -----
 'learn' → |
 | → '(come to) know'

Even though such an IPS does not occur in Johanson's aspect theory, it is not so rare in the world's languages (K.H.Ebert p.c.). In Yemsa, this is the only verb with such a behaviour so far.¹¹

Because of the presence of a cursus before and one after the change phase (i.e. the respective end or starting point) the aspectual semantics combines attributes of FINTR and INITR verbs. *ârû* 'learn/know' patterns with finitransformatives in that the progressive refers to a cursus phase before an endpoint:

- (7.40) *Ràhēl hásh ìzgìn-sā=tû ârî-dîf-â*.
 R. now nine-ORD=FOC learn/know-PROG-3f
 'Rahel is now [learning] in 9th (grade).'

¹⁰ In *mî'-f-â* and similar words the glottal stop can be followed by an epenthetic /i/, as in ex. (7.33), or not, as in this example.

¹¹ Maybe the verb *dû* 'sit (down)' treated above should be classified in the same way, since the progressive refers to a (very short) pre-phase before the starting point of sitting down.

7.3. Interaction of aspect and internal phase structure

On the other hand, the imperfective is used to refer to a cursus with no endpoint, which only applies to initiotransformatives:

- (7.41) *Hān mǎllātōo-s-ī-kītō-nòn ârī-f-ètī-ô?*
 DEM sign[ORO]-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f-ACC.f learn/know-IPFV-2p-Q
 ‘Do you know these letters?’

The simple refers either to a cursus and an endpoint (i.e. the whole state of affairs in terms of FINTR verbs, as in ex. (7.42)) or to a starting point and an ensuing cursus (i.e. the whole state of affairs in terms of INTR verbs, cf. ex. (7.43)). All three phases are not viewed at the same time by a single verb form.

- (7.42) *Bār àmàrinyā tā’nīn=tū ârī.*
 3sm Amharic quickly=FOC learn/know
 ‘He learnt Amharic quickly.’

- (7.43) *Nībā-k âr-sè-tē.*
 heart-LOC.f learn/know-PL-3POL
 ‘They knew (it) in (their) heart.’

7.3.6. Overview

	Simple	Imperfective	Progressive
DYN	Whole state of affairs	Habitual	Cursus
MOM	Whole state of affairs = finis	Habitual	More focal: serial/ less focal: habitual
FINTR	Whole state of affairs	Habitual	Cursus
INTR	Initium/ whole state of affairs	More focal: cursus/ less focal: habitual	Pre-phase/ cursus

Table 7.4.: Interaction of internal phase structure and aspect

The overview in table 7.4 shows that the meanings of the simple and imperfective aspects are more stable than those of the progressive. While simple is used to view the state of affairs as a whole, imperfective yields a habitual meaning. Only with INTR verbs are other aspectual meanings possible, in that the simple assumes the perspective on the initium, while the IPFV views the cursus of the two-phase state of affairs, in a more focal manner. The progressive views the cursus both with DYN and FINTR verbs. This is not possible with MOM verbs since they have no cursus. There, the progressive assumes a serial meaning. With INTR verbs, either the cursus or the phase immediately before the initium is in the aspectual scope of the progressive.

The variety of possible aspect meanings with INTR verbs may be due to the fact that the state of affairs consists of two phases, and that those phases are more clearly

7. Aspect

separated from each other conceptually, compared to the other two-phase IPS type, i.e. the FINTR states of affairs. So each phase has the possibility of being referred to separately. Speakers may sometimes want to address the initium or the cursus independently, which is possible by means of the simple/imperfective aspect dichotomy. However, in order to adopt a perspective on the whole state of affairs within a certain duration they also recur to the simple, and in order to adopt a less focal habitual perspective, the imperfective is used. Another factor which adds to the complexity of aspectual meanings with INTR verbs is the grammaticalisation process outlined above (section 7.3.4), whereby the focal aspect function of the IPFV is in the process of being taken over by the progressive.

The following may be factors resulting in more tightly knit together cursus and finis phases of FINTR states than the two phases of the INTR verbs: a view on the endpoint alone has the same implications as a view on the whole state of affairs, namely that the state of affairs is completed. Likewise, it is unusual to make reference to a specific duration when talking of FINTR states of affairs, e.g. ‘the water became turbid for two days’, since the action culminates in the end result. Thus, the simple has only one possible interpretation with FINTR verbs. The progressive has as its only possibility the interpretation of a view on the cursus since the cursus is equated with the phase immediately preceding the endpoint, unlike the INTR conceptualisation. Since the perspective of the progressive is always on the cursus, the IPFV is confined to the less focal, habitual interpretation of FINTR states of affairs.

7.4. Aspect semantics in dependent verb forms

In Yemsa, there is a broad range of dependent, i.e. functionally non-finite verb forms. Many of them occur as simple and f-marked forms, but the degree of meaningfulness of this dichotomy varies. In table 8.1 in section 8.20 examples of dependent verb forms and their f- and progressive-marked counterparts (if existent) are presented. Here, I give a short summary of possible forms (table 7.5). The aspectual semantics of those dependent forms which allow for aspect marking is addressed in this section. A more comprehensive account of the formal and functional properties of the dependent verb forms is provided in chapter 8.

The adnominal verb form stands out because it is the only dependent form where progressive can be marked. The simultaneous converb and the concessive only occur in an f-marked form; their simple counterparts (formally) are the manner converb and the purposive, respectively.

All f-marked forms are built from the realis stem, whereas among the simple forms there is some variation concerning the choice of the stem (cf. section 4.5).

¹² An f-marked variant of the temporal 2 does exist, but its use is limited to the formation of the negative counterfactual obligative, cf. section 6.2.7. It is not considered further in this section.

7.4. Aspect semantics in dependent verb forms

Verb form	Simple	f-marked	PROG-marked
ADNOM	yes	yes	yes
General converb	yes	—	—
DS converb	yes	yes	—
SEQ converb	yes	yes	—
MAN converb	yes	—	—
SIM converb	—	yes	—
IT converb	yes	yes	—
NEG converb	yes	yes	—
General quasi-converb	yes	yes	—
TEMP ₁	yes	yes	—
TEMP ₂	yes	(yes) ¹²	—
COND	yes	yes	—
NEG COND	yes	—	—
COMP	yes	yes	—
SIMIL	yes	yes	—
PURP	yes	—	—
Long VN	yes	—	—
CONC	—	yes	—
NEG PURP	yes	—	—

Table 7.5.: Aspect marking in dependent verb forms

7. Aspect

7.4.1. Adnominal

The adnominal verb form occurs in a simple, an imperfective, a progressive, a negative and a future form. Thus, it is the only dependent verb form to feature a three-way aspectual distinction. The aspectual values of the simple and the IPFV-marked forms are the same as those of the simple and IPFV on main verbs: The imperfective (f-marked) form adopts a perspective on the cursus or a habitual view, i.e. it can be high or low in focality. The perspective of the simple form is on the whole state of affairs or, alternatively, on the initium with INITR verbs. The INITR verb *kúnā* ‘lie down’ is used in the following examples:

- (7.44) *Tō àfǎ'-nī kún-f-ē àsù ǎa-fē.*
 afternoon sleep-GEN.m lie.down-IPFV-3m man NEG-be.there.3m
 ‘There is no one who sleeps in the afternoon.’

- (7.45) *Hāzō tō àfǎ'-nī kúní àsù ǎa-fē.*
 yesterday afternoon sleep-GEN.m lie.down man NEG-be.there.3m
 ‘Yesterday, there was no one who slept in the afternoon.’

The progressive is used in a high-focal perspective on a state of affairs, e.g.

- (7.46) *Bǎr ichīm-dīf-ā mǎyà bǐ.*
 3sm dry-PROG-3f clothes see
 ‘He checked the drying clothes.’

Interestingly, the imperfective adnominal form may denote the immediate pre-phase of a MOM state of affairs:

- (7.47) *És-tā-k jò'è-f-à bōmbī fà-r. Hām-à-tītá!*
 DEM-on-LOC.f explode-IPFV-3f bomb be.there.3f-NML go-IRR-2p.PROH
 ‘There is a bomb that is about to explode over there. Do not go (there)!’

No such effect is reported for the IPFV in main verbs. However, the exact conditions of that use need further research.

7.4.2. Similative and complement forms

Both the similative and the complement forms can take the suffix *-f*, and the aspectual values seem to be the same with both. As for the complement form, I only consider its similative use in this section, not its use in indirect speech. The f-marked similative or complement form adopts a perspective on the cursus or a habitual view on the state of affairs; the simple form views the state of affairs in its entirety. Complement:

- (7.48) *Hāzō-tī jò'è-nā-mātó jò'-ò-n.*
 yesterday-ATTR_{TEMP} explode-3-like explode-IRR-3fJUSS
 ‘Let it explode as it exploded yesterday.’

7.4. Aspect semantics in dependent verb forms

- (7.49) *Hàzò-yīzō-tī*¹³ *jò'è-f-àná-mâtó jò'-ò-n.*
 yesterday-day.before.yesterday-ATTR_{TEMP} explode-IPFV-3-like explode-IRR-3fJUSS
 ‘Let it explode as it exploded yesterday and the day before yesterday.’

Similative:

- (7.50) *Tá wòstè-nāa-s-ī-mātó ně dèy wòst-ò.*
 1s work-1s-DEF-GEN.f-like 2s TOP work-IRR
 ‘Work as I (have) worked.’
- (7.51) *Tá wòstè-f-àná-s-ī-mātó ně dèy wòst-ò.*
 1s work-IPFV-1s-DEF-GEN.f-like 2s TOP work-IRR
 ‘Work as I work/ am working.’

In (7.49) the habitual reading of the similative-marked state of affairs follows from the IPFV on a MOM verb. With the IPS types that also have a cursus to which the IPFV could refer the perspective is more focal, as in (7.51). However, I am unable to be more precise at the present stage of research.

7.4.3. Different subject converb

While the simple DS form entails either sequentiality or an unspecified relation between the state of affairs denoted by the converb and the following one, the f-marked DS converb stands for a state of affairs that is not completed before that of the following verb:

- (7.52) *...hàmm-ē nàwàa-s-ī àbà-nī fòchā yèré-fáa-t* ‘Àbàbbā àràar,
 go.CV-M girl-DEF-GEN.f father-GEN.m forecourt stop-SEQ.M-SS dad please
ìmămmā àràar’ yī-f-ēn; bàassò kèer-ūn òdé-sé-tē-ysē
 mom please say-IPFV-DS.3 3pPOL house_{LOC}-ABL hear-PL-3POL-TEMP₂
kés-é-r-ē hàarō kàbgì-r-ē èel-sì-f-ē.
 exit/ascend-PL-CV-M stick lift.up-CV-M run-CAUS-IPFV-3POL
 ‘...goes and places himself in the forecourt of the girl’s father, saying, “please, father, please, mother”; when they hear him from the house, they come out, take a stick and chase him away.’

The next pair of elicited examples makes the contrast clear:

- (7.53) a. *Bār hòpī-n bèysā dī-nī.*
 3sm become.tired.3-DS break sit-1p
 ‘He became tired and we sat down for a break.’

¹³ The different tones of *hàzò-* and *hāzō* in this and the preceding example are triggered by the compounding with *-yīzō-tī* and must have to do with the absence of the mid tone on the last syllable of *hàzò-*. This mid is present in *hāzō* and leads to the application of LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH (cf. section 2.6.3). Probably, the second mid tone of *hāzō* spreads to the right in the compound and is conflated with the following mid of *-yīzō*. Admittedly, the process is not yet fully understood.

7. Aspect

- b. *Bǎr hòpì-f-ēn* *ùgnà kùtì-nī*.
 3sm become.tired-IPFV-DS.3 road walk-1p
 ‘He becoming tired we walked on the road.’

In ex. (7.53a), the DS sequential converb *hòpì-fáa-n* could be used instead of the DS converb without a change in meaning.¹⁴

Depending on the IPS of the verb that occurs as a DS converb, the IPFV marker *-f* either conveys a view on the cursus, as with the FINTR verb in (7.53b), or a serial reading, as with the MOM verb in this example:

- (7.54) *Jò’è-f-ēn=tū* *wàalì*.
 explode-IPFV-DS.3=FOC get.dark
 ‘There were explosions the whole day long.’ (lit.: ‘It was exploding and it became night.’)

In ex. (7.55a), the simple DS converb stands for a temporal relation between the two events that is not exactly specifiable. In a way this is similar to a non-focal perspective, but with two states of affairs involved. Compare it to ex. (7.55b) with an IPFV-marked DS converb:

- (7.55) a. *Āfī wàagà-s-ō* *kéem-īn kóon-té*.
 A. livestock-DEF-ACC.f watch.3-DS give.birth-PASS
 ‘Afi watched over the livestock and they bred (lit.: were born).’
 b. *Āfī wàagà-s-ō* *kéem-f-ēn wàagà tíshí*.
 A. livestock-DEF-ACC.f watch-IPFV-DS.3 livestock disappear
 ‘When Afi watched the livestock, the livestock got lost.’

7.4.4. Manner and simultaneous converb

The meaning difference between the aspect-unmarked manner converb and the simultaneous converb, which is morphologically a manner converb extended by the suffix *-f*, is of a slightly different nature than that of the verb forms just described: while the manner converb describes how the action of the following verb is carried out (ex. (7.56)), the *f*-marked simultaneous form denotes temporal co-extension of the converb state of affairs and the following one (ex. (7.57)).

- (7.56) *Éetó háaré-t* *hàmì*.
 Lion.m become.angry.M-SS go
 ‘Lion went away angrily.’
 (7.57) *Wòstō-s-ō wòstè-fē-t mèshmétā mě*.
 work-DEF-ACC.f work-SIM.M-SS lunch eat.M
 ‘He ate lunch while working.’

¹⁴ For the formation and use of the sequential converb see section 8.4.

The dependent verb forms presented next have no aspectual meaning associated with the use of the suffix *-f*.

7.4.5. General quasi-converb

When used on the general quasi-converb, no aspectual meaning is present in *-f*. Both the simple and *f*-marked forms are used when the state of affairs denoted by the QCV and the following are in sequential or temporally unspecified relation. Curiously, the difference entails switch-reference: while the simple form is used for same subject reference (7.58), the *f*-marked one entails different subject reference of the following verb (7.59).

- (7.58) **Ìchĩm-nâ-rê** gàndè.
 dry-3-QCV fall
 ‘It dried and fell.’ (e.g. wood)
- (7.59) **Ìchĩm-f-ânâ-rê**¹⁵ kèp’-ē sòokè-tē.
 dry-DS-3-QCV collect[.CV]-M light-3POL
 ‘It dried and he/she collected and lit it.’

Furthermore, the *f*-marked general quasi-converb has its fixed use in the negative counterfactual obligative construction, as described in section 6.2.7. (The same is true for the *f*-marked temporal 2 form, which is only used in this construction.)

7.4.6. Temporal 1

The simple form of the temporal 1 conveys sequential meaning.

- (7.60) Wàagà **dân-nā-nnēen** gē’ā=tū gē’ī-f-à.
 money find-3-TEMP₁ be.happy.VN=FOC be.happy-IPFV-3f
 ‘After she gets money she IS HAPPY.’

With an *f*-marked form, however, a temporal or aspectual meaning seems absent altogether. Instead, a negative—i.e. adversative—connotation is entailed. This is most often a reproach directed either to the addressee or to a third party involved:

- (7.61) Ássā mètètè-r-à **kūn-f-ânâ-nnēen** né āané màms-ù-wé.¹⁶
 month be.sick-CV-F lie-ADVS-3-TEMP₁ 2s NEG ask-IRR-2sNEG
 ‘She has been sick for a month (but) you have not visited her.’

¹⁵ The tonal difference in the stem between *ichĩm*- and *ichĩm*- is due to the rule LEFTWARD DOWNSTEP OF HIGH, which applies in the *f*-marked form, but not in the simple one, cf. section 2.6.3.

¹⁶ This example is repeated from ex. (6.22).

7. Aspect

- (7.62) *Bàr ày-bāa-s-ī* *shōlē-r-à* *ùp'è-f-ânâ-nnēen* *bàas*
 3sf brother-3fPOSS.m-DEF-ACC.m want-CV-F meet-ADVS-3-TEMP₁ 3sPOL
kèer-ùk=tú *fè-tē.*
 house_{LOC}-LOC.f=FOC be.there.M-3POL
 ‘She wanted to meet her brother (but) he stayed home.’

7.4.7. Purposive and concessive

The suffix *-f* (together with the choice of the realis or irrealis stem) is used to distinguish between the purposive and concessive verb forms (described in sections 8.16 and 8.18, respectively):

- (7.63) *...nāa-s nàwāa-s-ī* *àbà-níkī* *kùr'ù-nī* *kófk-ú-nā-k*
 boy girl-DEF-GEN.f father-at.m elder-ACC.m let.go-IRR-3-PURP
zàg-tè-f-à.
 make-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘...the boy makes the elders (go) to the girl’s father in order to let her go.’
- (7.64) *Tá nèkī yà-f-ânâ-k* *dǔ-nā-wūzā* *āa-fá.*
 1s 2s.at come.F-f-3f-CONC sit.IRR-1s-thing NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘Even if I come to you I will not stay.’

7.4.8. Sequential converb, iterative converb, conditional

With the sequential converb, the iterative converb and the conditional, the occurrence of the suffix *-f* is lexically determined, just as with the optative and the counterfactual obligative verb forms. Internal phase structure apparently does not play a role.

All verbs allow for an *f*-marked form whereas the simple form is not possible for all. In addition to the *f*-marked and the simple forms, the iterative converb allows for *-f* to be replaced by *-t* with some verbs, cf. section 8.6 below.

Simple variants:

- (7.65) *Àsù zǎwāa-s-tā* *yēr-āa-nā-nē* *dùpà-r.*
 man snake-DEF-on stand-SEQ-3-COND sting.f-NML
 ‘If a man steps on a snake it bites.’
- (7.66) *...bùr'ūu-s-sī* *gìrì-r-ē* *yéré nòr'ō* *kàll-ē* *kìsī-n* *kèj-āafē*
 forest-DEF-in enter-CV-M stand sheep/goat drive.CV-M chase.3-DS stab-IT.M
shùkk-ē *ì'ō-s-ì* *dìyà* *kùn-s-āafē* *òrā* *òrā-nòn*
 slaughter.CV-M tree-DEF-GEN.f bottom lie-CAUS-IT.M another another-ACC.f
kèjj-ē *shùkk-ē* *kùbgì-f-ē.*
 stab.CV-M slaughter.CV-M collect-IPFV-3m

7.4. Aspect semantics in dependent verb forms

‘...they enter the forest, chase the animals [standing] there, others stab and slaughter them, lay them down at the bottom of the tree, stab and slaughter other ones and collect them.’

f-marked variants:

(7.67) **Hòpì-fáa-t** *kúní.*
become.tired-SEQ.M-SS lie.down

‘He/she became tired and lay down.’

(7.68) *Tà ăy-s-ī* **dân-făa-tā-nē** *hān-tā yǒ-nā-k* *māk-ó.*
my brother-DEF-ACC.m find-SEQ-2s-COND DEM-on come.IRR-3-PURP tell-IRR

‘If you see (lit.: find) my brother, tell him to come here.’

Where both forms are possible, they are interchangeable:

(7.69) *Wòstō-s-ō* **kò’s-āa-t/** **kò’sì-fáa-t** *kèe-bā* *hàmì.*
work-DEF-ACC.f finish-SEQ.M-SS finish-SEQ.M-SS house-3mPOSS.f go

‘After finishing the work he went home.’

Since the forms with and without *-f* are lexically determined variants and do not have different semantics, *-f* is not written as a separate suffix.

7.4.9. Overview

The dependent verb forms can be grouped as follows according to the values of their aspectual forms:

- a) Verb forms where simple, IPFV- and PROG-marked forms have aspect values: adnominal, similative/complement, different subject converb, simultaneous and manner converb
- b) Verb forms where the opposition between simple and f-marked forms conveys a distinction that is not related to aspect: general quasi-converb, temporal 1, purposive and concessive
- c) Verb forms where simple and f-marked forms have no distinctive value and their occurrence is lexically determined: sequential converb, iterative converb, conditional

From among the forms with an aspectual dichotomy it is the adnominal form which comes closest to the declarative main verb with its aspect values, since it has the same oppositions. The other forms are not combinable with the progressive. The similative/complement form differentiates between completed and on-going actions, without a distinction of focality degrees. The converbs are special because they inherently show aspectual relations to the action of the following verb; in the case of the DS converb

7. Aspect

this is a sequential or unspecified relation whereas the MAN converb denotes manner of the action of the following verb. With both converbs the IPFV-marked form is more specified than the simple one, and it is used to show a temporal overlap of the two actions. In the case of the SIM converb the temporal overlap is total whereas with the DS converb it is partial in that the converb action is not completed before beginning of the next action.

The verb forms of group b) have meanings associated with their f-marked forms that are completely unrelated not only to aspect, but also to each other: Switch-reference in the case of the general quasi-converb, modality with the temporal 1, and completely different verb forms in the case of the purposive and concessive. An attempt at explanation would lead into speculation and has to be left to further research.

As for group c), where the form without *-f* is a lexically determined variant, their behaviour seems to be a general property of verb forms where a suffix starting with *-a-* follows the root directly, i.e. the main verb forms optative and counterfactual obligative in addition to the dependent ones discussed here (cf. table 4.12 in section 4.5 above). The use of the f-marked form can thus be regarded as an attempt to make those verb forms conform to others that show their stem vowel, since the stem vowel does occur in the f-marked forms.

8. Dependent verb forms

In Yemsa, there is a large variety of dependent verb forms, which can be subdivided into adnominal forms, converbs and quasi-converbs¹. The following example is an illustration of different dependent verb forms in one sentence:

- (8.1) *És-tā-n īrō kòfkī-n hān dāa-s-tā īrō ích-f-ēn àkā*
 DEM-on-ABL rain let.free.3-DS DEM ground/country-DEF-on rain hit-IPFV-DS.3 water
tùumè-t tùumè-t yà-f-ànà kābāa-s-ík àsù-nī-mèyà
 fill.F-SS fill.F-SS come.F-IPFV-3f time-DEF-LOC.f man-GEN.m-PL_{HUM}
hām-ò-nē dā tishī-fāa-n úkkō-tī Nōo-nī
 go-PL_{IRR}-3POL ground/country disappear-SEQ.3f-DS earlier-ATTR_{TEMP} Noah-GEN.m
màrkābī-s-kī èel-è-r-ē yè-sè-tē.
 boat[AMH]-DEF-at run-PL-CV-M come.M-PL-3POL
 ‘Then, he let the rain go; the rain fell on this earth; when the water filled (it) more and more the dry ground (lit.: the ground where people could go) disappeared and they came running to Noah’s boat.’

kòfkīn different subject converb

íchfēn imperfective different subject converb

tùumèt manner converb

yàfànà imperfective adnominal form

hàmònē future adnominal form

tishīfāan different subject sequential converb

èelèrē general converb

For Yemsa, converbs—and dependent verb forms in general—have not been studied in depth so far. Lamberti (1993) mentions two converbs: the general converb (which he calls *Gerundium Präteriti*) and a so-called *Gerundium Præsentis*, which I identify as the simultaneous converb². Furthermore, his ‘Präteritum Progressiv’ is the imperfective different subject converb, but he does not describe it as a dependent, non-final

¹ Earlier, I called the quasi-converbs, which are rather adverbial in function, *specialised subordinate forms* (cf. Zaugg-Coretti (2008)).

² With the difference that Lamberti (1993) renders the suffixes *-faad/-feed* instead of *-fāt/-fēt*.

8. *Dependent verb forms*

verb form, showing not much more than a paradigm (Lamberti 1993:187). Schaumberger (MSa) on the other hand describes the general converb, which he calls ‘gerund’. He also mentions the simultaneous, sequential and different subject converbs, which he subsumes under ‘adverbial clause’ together with some other dependent verb forms such as the conditional and temporal forms. He characterises the different subject converb as being marked by *-n* as opposed to SS *-t* but fails to mention that the DS converb is sensitive to person.

Thus, it is my intention in this chapter to be as comprehensive as possible when it comes to the variety of forms and their specific person or gender paradigms. I also intend to address functional questions more accurately.

In the following sections, the different dependent verb forms will be presented with their forms and functions, starting with the adnominal verb forms. Later on in section 8.21 the definition of converb will be discussed.

As a general observation valid for all verb forms, the singular forms can be used for plural referents as well; i.e. plural marking is not obligatory. Its inconsistency is illustrated e.g. in ex. (8.16).

8.1. Adnominal verb forms

In Yemsa, a verb form used in attributive position has no characteristic formatives. It is recognised as such by its position before the head noun and partly specific person suffixes. The adnominal verb occurs in a simple, an imperfective, a progressive, a future and a negative form.

8.1.1. Realis adnominal (simple, imperfective, progressive)

If its subject is the head noun the 3rd person realis main verb occurs unchanged in adnominal position.

Realis stem (+ number) + (+IPFV (+PROG)) + person

Examples are:

- (8.2) *âfǎ'-nī³ kúní âsù*
 sleep-GEN.m lie.down man
 ‘the man who slept’

- (8.3) *wàagè-f-ē bǎr*
 buy/sell-IPFV-3m 3sm
 ‘the one who buys/sells’

³ The noun *âfǎ'* ‘sleep’ is masculine, which is exceptional for inanimates.

- (8.4) **ichīm-dīf-à** mǎyà
dry-PROG-3f clothes
‘the drying clothes’

A person suffix of the dependent set (cf. section 4.8.1) is added if the subject is not coreferent with its head noun.⁴ This is illustrated by the following example:

- (8.5) **hóossí-nā** sǎwsāa-s-ōn
get.ready.CAUS-3[.DEP] spice-DEF-ACC.f
‘the spices she had prepared’

An imperfective adnominal form with ‘time’ in the locative case as its head noun is often used as a means to express temporal relations:

- (8.6) **mèshmét-nì wònà kār’-f-ânâ**⁵ kābāa-s-īk
lunch-GEN.f time reach-IPFV-3f[IPFV.DEP] time-DEF-LOC.f
‘at lunchtime’ (lit. ‘at the time lunchtime reaches’)

In the 3rd person polite the person suffix carries a high instead of a mid tone otherwise present in the dependent person paradigm:

- (8.7) **māk-sé-té** chōwāa-s-ōn
tell-PL-3POL[.ADN] matter-DEF-ACC.f
‘what they (pol.) (had) told’

8.1.2. Irrealis adnominal (future and negative)

The future adnominal is built from the irrealis verb stem (cf. section 4.5):

Irrealis stem (+number) + person_{FUT}

If the head noun is the subject of the construction, *-ni* is used as 3rd person suffix, which also occurs as 3rd person marker in the nominalised future form, cf. section 4.9 above.

- (8.8) **nàwà-s-īk sìn-nì** īmā
girl-DEF-LOC.f become[.IRR]-3fFUT_{ADN} gift
‘a gift [being] for the girl’

- (8.9) **yò-nì** shāabō-s-ō
come.IRR-3fFUT_{ADN} milk-DEF-ACC.f
‘the milk that will come’

⁴ The additional *-a* in the first and second person singular compared to the simple form was mistaken for a relative suffix by Lamberti (1993:299).

⁵ The high root tone of *kārā* ‘reach’ is downstepped to mid according to the rule LEFTWARD DOWN-STEP OF HIGH described in section 2.6.3.

8. Dependent verb forms

If, on the other hand, the subject of the attributed verb is outside the noun phrase, the person markers are from the non-nominalised future set (cf. section 4.8.1 above). In this case, the adnominal has the same form as the future main verb.

- (8.10) ***hām-ò-nē*** *dā*
go[.IRR]-PL_{IRR}-3POL.FUT ground/country
‘the ground for them to go (to)’

- (8.11) ***bò’-ò-nā*** *wònā*
kidnap-IRR-3 time
‘a time for him to kidnap’

Negative adnominal

The negative adnominal is built from an irrealis verb stem and the negative dependent suffix; thus it has the same form as the negative converb (cf. section 8.7 below).

Irrealis stem (+number) + *nōy*

- (8.12) ***èebbis-ù-nōy*** *wūzā*
bless-IRR-NEG_{DEP} thing
‘the thing that does not bless’

8.2. General converb

To form the general converb, the suffix *-r* and a gender vowel *-ā* or *-ē* (cf. section 4.8.2) are added to a realis stem, e.g. *wāgè-r-ā* ‘trade-CV-f’. The realis plural marker *-e/-sé* (cf. section 4.6) may be inserted before *-r-ā/ē*.

In the singular forms of the a-class the (regularly occurring) elision of the stem vowel leads to a process of assimilation which is unique to this environment (described in section 2.4.1): Instead of the suffixation of *-r* the last stem consonant is geminated, e.g. *tókk-ā* ‘plant.CV-f’. This can be described as a historical process whereby *-r* fully assimilated to the root-final consonant, leading to the gemination. In the plural forms the plural suffix *-e* intervenes between the root and the converb suffix. Thus, *-r* never assimilated to the root consonant there and is preserved, as in *hām-è-r-ē* ‘go-PL-CV-M’

o/u-class, a-class pl.: realis stem (+number) + *r* + gender (vowel/tone)

a-class sg.: realis stem (=root) + geminate last stem consonant + gender (vowel/tone)

In order to exemplify the formation of the general converb, I give paradigms of two verb classes:

General converb of *wōlgū* ‘return (tr)’, ‘answer’

	1,2	<i>wōlgī-r-à</i>	
2sPOL, 3sf	<i>wōlgī-r-à</i>	2pPOL, 3pf	<i>wōlgī-sē-r-à</i>
3sm, 3sPOL	<i>wōlgī-r-ē</i>	3pm, 3pPOL	<i>wōlgī-sē-r-ē</i>

General converb of *tókā* ‘plant’

	1, 2, 2POL	<i>tókk-à</i>	
3sf	<i>tókk-à</i>	3pf	<i>tók-ē-r-à</i>
3sm, 3sPOL	<i>tókk-ē</i>	3pm, 3pPOL	<i>tók-é-r-ē</i>

There are exceptions to the gemination of the last stem vowel in the a-class converb: the glottal stop and /r'/ are never geminated, and with ejective stops such as /p'/ the gemination is not consistent; the conditions for its presence or absence have yet to be determined. Below are some examples:

Citation form General converb (f)

<i>tè'à</i> ‘set on fire’	<i>tè'-à</i>
<i>kíir'ā</i> ‘break’	<i>kíir'-à</i>
<i>kèp'à</i> ‘harvest’	<i>kèp'-à</i> ~ <i>kèpp'-à</i>
<i>èp'à</i> ‘take’	<i>èp'-à</i> ~ <i>èpp'-à</i>

The general converb is most commonly used in chaining constructions. It represents the most unmarked way of expressing a sequence of events, and when it occurs, it signals such a sequence most of the time. This can be seen in the following example, in which only the last event in a sequence is expressed by a finite main verb:

- (8.13) *Ēwā tókk-à, būnā tókk-à, és-bār-òn kèpp'-à, wàagè-r-à*
 ensete plant.CV-F coffee plant.CV-F DEM-3sf-ACC.f collect.CV-F buy/sell-CV-F
mǎ-nī-r.
 eat.F-1p-NML

‘We planted ensete, planted coffee, harvested it, sold it and ate.’

The first two events *ēwā tókkà*, *būnā tókkà*, however, are not really in a sequence. They are not explicitly simultaneous events either, but the temporal relation is unspecified. The occurrence of this converb type with events related in an unspecific temporal way is one of the reasons for calling it a general converb, and not, for instance, a sequential converb.

Other properties of the general converb are instances of lexicalisation and its use in compound verb forms. The general converb is the only converb with these possibilities.⁶

⁶ However, the periphrastic use of the manner converb and the verb *fō* ‘be there/live’ with durative meaning could be regarded as a compound verb as well, cf. ex. (7.10) in section 7.2.2.

8. Dependent verb forms

An example of converb lexicalisation is the adverbial *zēemm-à/zēemm-ē* ‘first’, which is a converb form of *zēemā* ‘precede’. It is no longer perceived to represent an event in its own right. However, it is still gender-sensitive, with *-à/-ē* referring to the gender of the subject.

A compound verb is shown in ex. (8.14). The converb form of *gē’ā* ‘be proud’ is compounded with a semantically emptied *V*₂ *fō* ‘be there/live’, describing just one event of extended duration, not two events.

- (8.14) *Zōmō-bēsì-nēen=tú wòllě-t kàssě-t gě’-ē*
 friend.f-3POL.POSS-COMIT.f=FOC talk.M-SS play.M-SS be.proud.CV-M
fē-f-ē.
 be.there/live.M-IPFV-3POL
 ‘She chats with her friends and is proud.’

Another example of *fō* ‘be there/live’ as *V*₂ is found in ex. (8.16) with *āaché-r-ē fē-n* ‘hide’, lit. ‘be there hiding’.

Further *V*₂s include *késā* ‘exit, ascend’, *kūnā* ‘lie (down)’, *hāmā* ‘go’, *tāamā* ‘take somewhere’. With *késā* ‘exit, ascend’ a large variety of *V*₁s are possible. *késā* indicates that the action denoted by the *V*₁ in its general converb form has been completed:

- (8.15) *...figā èpp’-ē kūwā kùurì-r-ē ì’ō kèpp’-ē késs-ē*
 dung take.CV-M grass cut.grass-CV-M wood collect.CV-M exit/ascend.CV-M
és-īs-ī-mātó kèyà-s-s-ī shól-sí wòstōo-s-ō zùutāmbàsē
 DEM-DEF-GEN.f-like house-DEF-in want-CAUS work-DEF-ACC.f all
wòstě-r.
 work.m-NML
 ‘...he takes dung, harvests grass, collects wood and then does every necessary work in the house (like this).’

hāmā ‘go’ and *tāamā* ‘take somewhere’ have a telicising function, e.g. *wǒr’-ē tāamm-ē* ‘they carry somewhere’, lit. ‘carry take somewhere’ or *èel-è-r-ē hām-è-f-ē* ‘they run away’:

- (8.16) *És-tā-n bār gābā wědèy kóon-níkī wědèy sùr-ū-sī hām-à-nā*
 that-on-ABL 3sf market or relative.m-at.m or sing-VN-in go-IRR-3
wònàa-s-ō àrì-fāa-t zòmó-bá-nī gèrì-r-ē ùgùn-tā
 time-DEF-ACC.f know-SEQ.M-SS friend.m-3mPOSS.m-ACC.m call-CV-M road-on
āaché-r-ē fē-n bār yà-nā-nnēen kàbì-r-ē bò’è-r-ē
 hide-CV-M be.there/live.M.3-DS 3sf come-3-TEMP₁ stand.up-CV-M kidnap-CV-M
wǒr’-ē tāamm-ē kèer gèd-nā-ysē zòmó-báa-s
 carry.CV-M take.to.CV-M house_{LOC} put.into-3-TEMP₂ friend.m-3mPOSS.m-DEF
bāsā-s-tā-nāwǎ⁷ bārì-s-tā-nā gāmālā-s-ō kùlf-āa-t
 3smPOSS-DEF-on-and.m 3sfPOSS-DEF-on-and.m door-DEF.ACC.f lock-SEQ.M-SS
èel-è-r-ē hām-è-f-ē.
 run-PL-CV-M go-PL-IPFV-3m

8.3. Different subject converb

‘Then, he knows the time when she goes to the market, to her relatives or to the festivities; he calls his friends, they hide on the road; when she comes, they stand up, kidnap her, take her to the house and put her into it, his friends lock the door behind him and her and run away.’

Because of the semantic interrelation between V_1 and V_2 the possible V_1 s are restricted. V_2 $t\bar{o}$ does not have an individual meaning any longer. Together with the V_1 $\acute{e}p\acute{a}$ ‘take’ it yields the meaning ‘to believe’, as in $t\acute{a} \acute{e}pp\acute{a} \textbf{t\acute{a}n}$ ‘I believe (it)’.

8.3. Different subject converb

The different subject converb is formed from the realis stem (cf. section 4.5) and the person-sensitive suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1). The realis plural marker $-e/-sé$ occurs in the 2nd polite and 3rd person forms.

Realis stem (+number) (+IPFV) + person-sensitive DS marker

It is possible for the imperfective suffix $-f$ to occur in the different subject converb. It is followed by a person-sensitive vowel (called *imperfective vowel*, cf. section 4.7), which is $-à$ in the 1st person singular and $-ē$ or $-è$ in the other persons. The imperfective vowel and the person-sensitive suffixes following it form the paradigm of imperfective DS person suffixes shown in section 4.8.1 above.

DS converb of *sòokà* ‘light’

1s	<i>sòok-nā</i>	1p	<i>sòok-nī</i>
2s	<i>sòok-ī-n</i>	2p/END	<i>sòok-nī</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòok-nī</i>	2pPOL	<i>sòok-è-nī</i>
3s	<i>sòok-ī-n</i>	3p	<i>sòok-ē-n</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòok-tēn</i>	3pPOL	<i>sòok-è-tēn</i>

DS converb of *shíip’ō* ‘demand, beg’

1s	<i>shíip’é-nā</i>	1p	<i>shíip’é-nī</i>
2s	<i>shíip’ē-n</i>	2p/END	<i>shíip’é-nī</i>
2sPOL	<i>shíip’é-nī</i>	2pPOL	<i>shíip’-sé-nī</i>
3s	<i>shíip’ē-n</i>	3p	<i>shíip’-sē-n</i>
3sPOL	<i>shíip’é-tēn</i>	3pPOL	<i>shíip’-sé-tēn</i>

⁷ The rising tone on $-nāwǎ$ is due to the application of DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, described in section 2.6.3.

8. Dependent verb forms

IPFV DS converb of *sòokà* ‘light’

1s	<i>sòok-f-ànà</i>	1p	<i>sòok-f-ènì</i>
2s	<i>sòok-f-ēn</i>	2p/END	<i>sòok-f-ènì</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòok-f-ènì</i>	2pPOL	<i>sòok-è-f-ènì</i>
3s, 3sPOL	<i>sòok-f-ēn</i>	3p, 3pPOL	<i>sòok-è-f-ēn</i>

IPFV DS converb of *tòrū* ‘plough’

1s	<i>tòrì-f-ànà</i>	1p	<i>tòrì-f-ènì</i>
2s	<i>tòrì-f-ēn</i>	2p/END	<i>tòrì-f-ènì</i>
2sPOL	<i>tòrì-f-ènì</i>	2pPOL	<i>tòr-sè-f-ènì</i>
3s, 3sPOL	<i>tòrì-f-ēn</i>	3p, 3pPOL	<i>tòr-sè-f-ēn</i>

In the a-class the stem vowel does not appear (as is usual with realis stems, cf. section 4.5 above) and is replaced by an epenthetic /i/ before -n in the 2nd singular/3rd person of the simple variant. In some verbs of the o- and u-classes the stem vowel is also overridden by the plural suffix (cf. section 4.6), as exemplified here by *tòrū* ‘plough’.

The different subject converb is another converb used in chaining constructions. The simple, aspectually unmarked different subject converb is basically used to express the same temporal relation as the general converb. This means that there is no specification as to the temporal succession of the converb-marked and the following event; however, in most cases it stands for a sequence of events. The most important function of this converb is to mark a subject change immediately following the converb. The subject of the event expressed by the converb is marked by the person-sensitive suffix on the converb, while the following subject is marked on the next verb. The DS converb thus gives no hint as to the nature of the subject of the following event other than that it must be different. DS refers to a change of referent, not of the grammatical person marker, i.e. a converb with a third person singular feminine subject followed by a different third person feminine subject must be marked for different subject.

In the next example the subject of the first three events is *téegóos* ‘the husband’. The first two events *hàmmē* and *tìr’ō yīsshē* are represented by general converbs because there is no subject change after them. The third event *tèsshè-tēn=tū*⁸ however must be marked for different subject because the following event is in the passive voice; its subject is *tìr’ō* ‘cotton’.

- (8.17) *Bàasi téegóo-s dèy tòonà hàmm-ē tìr’ō yīssh-ē*
 3sPOL.POSS husband-DEF TOP lowlands go.CV-M cotton dig/collect.CV-M
tèsshè-tēn=tū súk-tē-r-à⁹ mǎamā wīchē-f-à.
 bring-3POL.DS=FOC spin-PASS-CV-F clothes weave.PASS-IPFV-3f

‘Her husband goes to the lowlands, collects cotton and brings it back; it is

⁸ Encliticised *=tū* need not concern us here; it is a focus marker which can also occur on converbs, cf. Zaugg-Coretti (2009).

spun and clothes are woven.’

The following example shows instances of DS converbs denoting events that are not in a sequence. Their temporal relation is not specified:

- (8.18) *Yè-sè-tēesē ēwāa-s-ōn kách’è-r kāch’ē-n, wàar’ǎ-r*
 come.M-PL-3POL.TEMP₂ ensete-DEF-ACC.f cut.m-NML cut.3-DS dig.m-NML
wàar’ī-n, shèdī-r shèdī-n, wàashá-r
 dig.3-DS remove.leaves.m-NML remove.leaves.3-DS harvest.ensete.m-NML
wǎashī-n, ūwāa-s-ōn bùlě-r búlē-n
 harvest.ensete.3-DS ensete.root-DEF-ACC.f chop.m-NML chop.3-DS
wòstè-sé-f-ē.
 work-PL-IPFV-3POL
 ‘When they have come the ensete cutters cut, the diggers dig, the leaf removers remove (dry) leaves, the ensete harvesters harvest ensete (by scraping out the pith) and the choppers chop the ensete roots; (that is how) they work.’

As pointed out in section 7.4 above, the IPFV variant of the DS converb is used when it denotes a state of affairs that is not completed before the state of affairs of the following verb begins.

- (8.19) *Bǎr tòrì-f-ēn wàali.*
 3sm plough-IPFV-DS.3 get.dark
 ‘He was ploughing the whole day.’ (lit.: ‘While he was ploughing it became night.’)

8.4. Sequential converb

The sequential converb is built from a verbal root without stem vowel or from a realis stem and is characterised by the sequential suffix *-(f)aa*, which also occurs in the conditional. It has a same subject and a different subject variant; after the SEQ suffix either the SS marker *-t* or the person-sensitive DS suffixes (cf. section 4.8.1 above) are added accordingly.

SS sequential converb: Root (+ realis stem vowel (+number) + *-f*) + *-aa* + gender + SS (*-t*)

DS sequential converb: Root (+ realis stem vowel (+number) + *-f*) + *-aa* (+ gender) + person-sensitive DS marker

⁹ Between passive verbs with different subjects, however, there is no DS marking, and therefore the general converb is used, cf. section 5.1.1 on the interaction of passive and switch-reference marking, where this sentence already appeared as ex. (5.3).

8. Dependent verb forms

The occurrence—or better the non-occurrence—of *-f* is lexically determined with this converb: All verbs may occur with the *-fāa/-fāa* variant of the suffix, but only some of them can occur with *-āa/-āa* alone. The use of *-f* entails the realis stem as base, and makes the use of the realis plural marker *-e/sé* possible. Unlike elsewhere, *-f* has no aspect value with this converb (cf. section 7.4 above, where other verb forms with the same property are discussed).

The first two example paradigms show the SS variant, with and without *-f*:

SS SEQ converb of *kò'sū* ‘finish (tr.)’

1, 2, 2POL, 3f	<i>kò's-āa-t</i>
3m, 3POL	<i>kò's-āa-t</i>

SS SEQ converb of *shúip'ō* ‘beg, demand’

1	<i>shúip'ē-fāa-t</i>	
2s, 2sPOL, 3sf	<i>shúip'ē-fāa-t</i>	2p, 2pPOL, 3pf <i>shúip'ē-sē-fāa-t</i>
3sm, 3sPOL	<i>shúip'ē-fāa-t</i>	3pm, 3pPOL <i>shúip'ē-sé-fāa-t</i>

In the SS variant gender is marked by tone as described in section 4.8.2 above: *-āa/-fāa* indicate masculine gender and are used for 3rd singular and plural masculine and polite. The feminine forms *-āa/-fāa* occur with all other persons.

The next two paradigms show the DS variant of the sequential converb, with and without *-f*:

DS SEQ converb of *úshā/kūygū* ‘drink’

1s	<i>úsh-āa-nā</i>	1p	<i>úsh-āa-nī</i>
2s	<i>úsh-āa-n</i>	2p/END	<i>úsh-āa-nī</i>
	2POL		<i>kūyg-āa-nī</i>
	3		<i>úsh-āa-n</i>
	3POL		<i>kūyg-āa-tē-n</i>

DS SEQ converb of *dùud-ō* ‘try, practise’

1s	<i>dùudè-fāa-nā</i>	1p	<i>dùudè-fāa-nī</i>
2s	<i>dùudè-fāa-n</i>	2p/END	<i>dùudè-fāa-nī</i>
2sPOL	<i>dùudè-fāa-nī</i>	2pPOL	<i>dùudè-sé-fāa-nī</i>
3sf	<i>dùudè-fāa-n</i>	3pf	<i>dùudè-sē-fāa-n</i>
3sm	<i>dùudè-fāa-n</i>	3pm	<i>dùudè-sé-fāa-n</i>
3sPOL	<i>dùudè-fāa-tē-n</i>	3pPOL	<i>dùudè-sé-fāa-tē-n</i>

In the DS variant without *-f* there is no gender distinction; person-sensitive marking

is the same as with the DS converb with its oppositions. The tonal gender distinction in the f-marked DS SEQ converb, on the other hand, is only present in the 3rd person. Otherwise, the tone of the suffix *-faa* depends on the person.

The sequential converb is a further verb form that is used in clause chains. Unlike events coded by general converbs the actions cannot be in a close semantic relationship or refer to different parts of more complex events. Furthermore, the events have to be in a clear sequence, i.e. the verb following the SEQ converb expresses a new event starting after the completion of the event expressed by the converb¹⁰. In most cases the sequential converb could be replaced by a subordinate verb form equivalent to ‘after [...]ing’, such as *[...]-nnēen òrfō*, the temporal 1 verb form described in section 8.10 below. Basically there is no difference in meaning between such an ‘after’-form and the sequential converb. Rather, the choice seems to be guided by text structuring considerations.

- (8.20) *Tà'nī wòst-āa-t yǒ-nā.*
 quickly work-SEQ.F-SS come.IRR-1s
 ‘I’ll finish it quickly and then I’ll come.’

In the following example, the V₂ of a compound verb has the form of a sequential converb:

- (8.21) “*Àkā ússh-à kēs-fāa-t=tū kà'ōo-s-īn mǔ-nā-wā*”
 water drink.CV-F exit/ascend-SEQ.F-SS=FOC monkey-DEF-ACC.m eat.IRR-1s-ADR.m
*yī-r-ē éetó òod-f-ēnà kābāa-s-īk; (...)*¹¹
 say-CV-M Lion.m wait-IPFV-3m time-DEF-LOC.f
 ‘ “After drinking water I will eat the monkey”, said Lion while he was waiting.
 (...)’

In the data, there are only a few instances of a sequential converb which is marked for different subject, such as the following:

- (8.22) *Mā'ā kórmá-nī innō Yèngàr-kī wòràdā-s-sī*
 good bull[AMH]-ACC.m 1p[.POSS] Yem.country-ATTR_{LOC} province-DEF-in
yèet-āa-n, āachō-nòn màngĩstī kīrāyī kās-āa-n mīyā
 introduce-SEQ-DS hidden-ADV government[AMH] rent[AMH] pay-SEQ-DS cow
āachō-nòn ùp'è-r-à yà-r-à mā'ā mīybà kòonī-n
 hidden-ADV meet-CV-F come.F-CV-F good cow.3fPOSS.f give.birth.3-DS
yò-nī sháabō-s-ō úsh-f-èni yá.
 come.IRR-3FUT.ADN milk-DEF-ACC.f drink-IPFV-1p PART
 ‘They introduce a good bull to our Yem country; secretly the government pays the rent; secretly a cow meets it and gives birth to a good cow; we drink its milk (lit.: the milk that comes).’

¹⁰ The use of the sequential converb seems to parallel the use of the so-called *temporal* in Awngi, which conjoins two actions or events that are regarded as individual units (Hetzron 1969:21).

¹¹ This example is repeated from ex. (1.22).

8. Dependent verb forms

- (8.23) *Tá zàg-ū shákí-fáa-nā bèyì.*
 1s do-VN not.do-SEQ-DS.1s cease/refuse
 ‘He left (me) because/after I did not do (it).’

8.5. Manner and simultaneous converb

The manner converb is built from the realis stem plus a suffix *-t*. In the case of a-class verbs the stem vowel is *-e* (instead of *-Ø*, cf. section 4.1). Gender is marked through tone on the last vowel, i.e. the stem vowel (cf. section 4.8.2). Plural marking is possible, but less common than with the other verb forms.

Realis stem (+number) + gender (tone) + SS (*-t*)

To build the simultaneous converb, the imperfective suffix *-f* and a gender-sensitive vowel *-à/-ē* are added to the manner form after the realis stem before the SS suffix *-t*.

Realis stem (+number) + *-f* + gender (tone/vowel) + SS (*-t*)

-t is analysed as a SS suffix since it also occurs with the same subject SEQ converb. Consequently, there is no special MAN or SIM suffix, and the manner or simultaneous reading seems to be induced by the non-occurrence of the sequential suffix.

The following paradigms exemplify the formation of the manner and the simultaneous converbs:

Manner converb of *kàssō* ‘play’¹²

1, 2, 2POL, 3f *kàssè-t*
 3m, 3POL *kàssě-t*

Simultaneous converb of *kéemā* ‘watch’

	1, 2	<i>kéem-f-à-t</i>	
2sPOL, 3sf	<i>kéem-f-à-t</i>		2pPOL, 3pf <i>kéem-é-f-à-t</i>
3sm, 3sPOL	<i>kéem-f-ē-t</i>		3pm, 3pPOL <i>kéem-é-f-ē-t</i>

The manner and the simultaneous converb are used when the action referred to by the converb and the following action occur simultaneously. The simultaneous converb seems to convey an exact temporal overlap of the two events (ex. (8.25)), whereas with the manner converb the events are not separate. Rather, the MAN converb conveys the manner in which the following verb is carried out:

¹² I have a few examples with the realis plural marker *-e/-sé* on a manner converb, but in the paradigm the informant did not include plural forms.

- (8.24) *Éetó háaré-t hàmi.*¹³
 Lion.m become.angry.M-SS go
 ‘Lion went away angrily.’

- (8.25) ...wàagà-s-ō **kéem-fē-t**¹⁴ shòwō tésā kàssō kàssè-sé-f-ē.
 livestock-DEF-ACC.f watch-SIM.M-SS many kind game play-PL-IPFV-3m
 ‘...while watching the livestock they play many different kinds of games.’

The manner converb is used with the verb *fō* ‘be there, live’ in a periphrastic construction to yield a durative meaning, as exemplified by ex. (7.10) in section 7.2.2.

8.6. Iterative converb

In the formation of the iterative converb there is some variation. Basically, the suffix *-āafà/-áafē* is used. There are verbs that require *-f* before it, and for others, there is a possibility of adding *-t* before the suffix, yielding *-fāafà/fāafē* and *-tāafà/-tāafē*. The possibilities seem to be lexically determined. If there are several possibilities, the choice between them is free. For the u-class verb *àrū* ‘learn, know’ all three are grammatical, whereas for the a-class verb *kār’ā* ‘reach’, the *-tāafà/-tāafē* variant does not exist, but the other two do. It seems that the *-fāafà/-fāafē* variant is possible with all verbs.

Whereas the *-āafà/-áafē* variant is added directly to the verb root, the *-fāafà/fāafē* and *-tāafà/-tāafē* variants are added to the realis stem.

Root + *-áaf* + gender (vowel/tone)
 or realis stem (+number) + *-f/-t* + *-áaf* + gender (vowel/tone)

The suffix *-āafà/-áafē* is probably made up of the sequential suffix *-aa* and the imperfective suffix *-f*, with a gender-sensitive imperfective vowel. As for *t* in *-tāafà/-tāafē*, it could be related to the same subject converb suffix *-t* used in the sequential and simultaneous converbs. *f* in *-fāafà/-fāafē* is a reflex of the imperfective suffix.

The iterative converb is gender-sensitive, and the distribution is the same as with the general, sequential, manner and simultaneous converbs: The masculine form *-(f/t)áafē* is used for the 3rd person masculine and polite. The feminine form *-(f/t)āafà* is used for the 3rd person feminine and for the 1st and 2nd persons. The realis plural marker *-e/-sé* can be added after the stem with the *-fāafà/-fāafē* or *-tāafà/-tāafē* variant.

The a-class verb *kèer’ā* ‘build a house’ allows for all three possibilities of the iterative converb suffix:

¹³ This example is identical with ex. 7.56.

¹⁴ I recall that the use of plural forms is not consistent with plural referents.

8. Dependent verb forms

IT converb of *kèer'â* ‘build a house’

		1	<i>kèer'-āafâ</i> ~ <i>kèer'-f/t-āafâ</i>	
2s, 2sPOL, 3sf	<i>kèer'-āafâ</i> ~ <i>kèer'-f/t-āafâ</i>		2p, 2pPOL, 3pf	<i>kèer'-āafâ</i> ~ <i>kèer'-è-f/t-āafâ</i>
3sm, 3sPOL	<i>kèer'-āafē</i> ~ <i>kèer'-f/t-āafē</i>		3pm, 3pPOL	<i>kèer'-āafē</i> ~ <i>kèer'-è-f/t-āafē</i>

In contrast, the u-class verb *wōlgù* ‘return’ does not allow for the *-āafâ/-āafē* variant:

IT converb of *wōlgù* ‘return’

		1	<i>wōlgì-f/t-āafâ</i>	
2s, 2sPOL, 3sf	<i>wōlgì-f/t-āafâ</i>		2p, 2pPOL, 3pf	<i>wōlgì-sē-f/t-āafâ</i>
3sm, 3sPOL	<i>wōlgì-f/t-āafē</i>		3pm, 3pPOL	<i>wōlgì-sé-f/t-āafē</i>

The iterative converb is used for two successive actions that are repeated. Only the first of them is referred to by the iterative converb; the second one can be represented by any other verb form, depending on the aspect, mood and linkage type of the two-action combination.

- (8.26) *Bār mèt̃tē-tāafâ=tū fārì-f-à.*
 3sf become.sick-IT.F=FOC get.well-IPFV-3f
 ‘She keeps getting sick and well again.’

In the following example the second action occurs in the adnominal form and position. This means that the combination of both verbs is to be understood as an attribute of the following nominal, which in this example is the pronoun *bār* ‘he’:

- (8.27) *Ēs bōzāa-s-ō hān dāa-s-tā-n èp'-āafē*
 DEM slave-DEF-ACC.f DEM ground/country-DEF-on-ABL take-IT.M
wāagè-f-ē bār hásh kách'ē-bā āa-fá.
 buy/sell-IPFV-3m 3sm now clan-3mPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘Now the clan of those who used to kidnap and sell the slaves from this country (again and again) is not there anymore.’

8.7. Negative converb

In order to form the negative converb the suffix *-nōy*¹⁵ is attached to the irrealis stem of the verb. There is no distinction for person or gender.

Irrealis stem (+number) + *-nōy*

¹⁵ This suffix is also used in other dependent verb forms, cf. below and section 4.11.4.

tìchù-nöy ‘without/before writing’

The irrealis plural suffix *-o/-só* occurs in the 2nd and 3rd person plural forms.

The negative converb can be explicitly marked for switch-reference by means of a semantically empty SS- or DS-converb following it:

First, there is the possibility of supplementing the negative converb by *fàt/fět*, which is analysed as the manner converb of the verb *fō* ‘be there, live’. Although the Yemsa imperfective suffix *-f* is clearly derived from this verb, here we have to treat *fàt/fět* as a full verb rather than a suffix because the full verb form is still identifiable. This is also the informants’ suggestion—although the manner converb of the *fō* ‘be there, live’ is not used outside this context. Furthermore, the long realisation of the vowel, i.e. [fà:t] and [fět:] respectively, is an indicator of stress in one-syllable words, as outlined in section 2.5.

Irrealis stem (+number) + *-nöy* + CV_{MAN} of *fō* ‘be there, live’

The following paradigm shows the negative converb optionally followed by the manner converb of *fō* ‘be there, live’:

Negative converb of *yō/ǒfō* ‘come’ (+ CV_{MAN} of *fō* ‘be there, live’)

1s	<i>yò-nöy (fà-t)</i>	1p	<i>yò-nöy (fà-t)</i>
2s/END	<i>yò-nöy (fà-t)</i>	2p	<i>yò-sò-nöy (fà-t)</i>
2sPOL	<i>ǒfō-nöy (fà-t)</i>	2pPOL	<i>ǒf-sò-nöy (fà-t)</i>
3sf	<i>yò-nöy (fà-t)</i>	3pf	<i>yò-sò-nöy (fà-t)</i>
3sm	<i>yò-nöy (fē-t)¹⁶</i>	3pm	<i>yò-sò-nöy (fē-t)</i>
3sPOL	<i>ǒfō-nöy (fē-t)</i>	3pPOL	<i>ǒf-sō-nöy (fē-t)</i>

Second, there is the possibility to extend the negative converb by a DS converb of *fō* ‘be there, live’.

Irrealis stem (+number) + *-nöy* + CV_{DS} of *fō* ‘be there, live’

DS negative converb of *yō/ǒfō* ‘come’

1s	<i>yò-nöy fà-nà</i>	1p	<i>yò-nöy fà-nì</i>
2s	<i>yò-nöy fē-n</i>	2p/END	<i>yò-nöy fà-nì</i>
2sPOL	<i>ǒfō-nöy fà-nì</i>	2pPOL	<i>ǒf-sō-nöy fà-sè-nī</i>
3sf	<i>yò-nöy fē-n</i>	3pf	<i>yò-sò-nöy fà-sē-n</i>
3sm	<i>yò-nöy fē-n</i>	3pm	<i>yò-sò-nöy fē-sē-n</i>
3sPOL	<i>ǒfō-nöy fē-tēn</i>	3pPOL	<i>ǒf-sō-nöy fē-sè-tēn</i>

¹⁶ The rising tone of *fět* is changed to mid in this environment, following the rule SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH described in section 2.6.3.

8. Dependent verb forms

In the paradigm of the DS converb of *fō* ‘be there, live’ there is some variation: the 2nd person singular and the 3rd person feminine singular may also occur as *fà-n* besides *fē-n*.

The negative converb is used when the first action is not carried out, but the second one (the one following the converb) is. This can either entail that the action referred to by the converb is not performed at all (cf. ex. (8.28)), or that the first action is not performed *before* the second one, but maybe later (cf. ex. (8.29)). The reading depends on the situation.

- (8.28) *Àfādū mû-nōy kúní.*
 A. eat.IRR-NEG_{DEP} lie.down
 ‘Afadu went to sleep without having eaten.’

- (8.29) *Tíchā tich-û-nōy mēethà’ū mú-nā.*
 letter write-IRR-NEG_{DEP} dinner eat.IRR-1s
 ‘Before writing a letter I will have dinner.’

The subject of the converb and the following verb must be the same unless the converb is extended by a DS converb of *fō* ‘be there, live’:

- (8.30) *Wû-nōy fânâ maké-t.*
 say.IRR-NEG_{DEP} be.there.DS.1s tell-2s
 ‘I did not say it but you did.’ (Lit. ‘Without me saying (it), you told (it).’)

Using the negative converb together with the MAN or the DS converb of *fō* ‘be there, live’ does not change the aspectual meaning of the sentence:

- (8.31) *Mû-nōy (fâ-t) Àfādū kúní.*
 eat.IRR-NEG_{DEP} be.there.F-SS A. lie.down
 ‘Afadu went to sleep without having eaten.’

In the next example, a DS negative converb occurs twice:

- (8.32) *Nàwàa-s-ī àbà-nàwà íntō-nē nàwà-s-sēen àr-sò-nōy*
 girl-DEF-GEN[f] father-and.m mother-and.f girl-DEF-COMIT.f know-PL_{IRR-NEG_{DEP}}
fè-sè-tēn èp’-nì bār nàwàa-s-ō bīi-r-ē
 be.there.M-PL-3POL.DS take-3FUT.ADN 3sm girl-DEF-ACC.f see-CV-M
kèesh-tè-nā-nnēen òrfō zòmó-bá-nī gèerì-r-ē fàzà tàannyì-r-ē
 like-3POL-3-TEMP₁ after friend.m-3mPOSS.m-ACC.m call-CV-M horse bridle-CV-M
wàssī wòn-nōy fēn...
 midnight become.day-NEG_{DEP} be.there.DS

‘Without knowing girl’s parents and the girl, the one who wants to marry, after seeing and getting to like the girl, calls his friends and bridles a horse and in the night, before dawn...’

The reason for the occurrence of *fō* in the switch-reference-marked forms of the negative converb remains obscure. One could speculate that in an earlier stage of the language the verb *fō* was—for whatever reason—needed in order to attach the DS suffix to the negative converb, and its use was generalised to SS reference by analogy. Either *fō* never had an aspectual meaning in this use or it lost it in the course of grammaticalisation, since an aspectual dichotomy with the negative converb is not needed in any case.

8.8. Isolated phenomena in clause chaining

The phenomena discussed in this section are rarely attested but are nevertheless interesting.

A finite imperfective main verb may occasionally occur reduplicated in a chain. This use expresses a durative or continuative meaning, cf. section 7.2.1.

- (8.33) *Hān kèyàa-s hām-f-â hām-f-â*.¹⁷
 DEM house-DEF go-IPFV-3f go-IPFV-3f
 ‘These houses, they go on and on.’

There is one example in my corpus where general converbs are additionally marked by the coordinative case suffix (‘and’), which occurs in its masculine form:

- (8.34) *Hásh-hàwng kòon-tè-r-ē dīch-ē-nāwă tàgì-r-ē-nâ=tū*
 now-today give.birth-PASS-CV-M grow.CV-M-and.m expand-CV-M-and.m=FOC
fê.
 be.there.3m
 ‘Today they are born, grow and expand.’

This kind of marking probably expresses a closer link between the action of the second and the third converb (‘grow’ and ‘expand’) as opposed to the first one (*kòon-tè-r-ē* ‘be born’).

Interestingly, a similar example with a different converb is cited by Lamberti (1993:155) (glosses mine; tone omitted):

- (8.35) *Dige-feed-na korke-feed-na iccho-s-on wolle-wa*.¹⁸
 fear-SIM.M.SS-and tremble-SIM.M.SS-and.m hit.PASS.VN-DEF-ACC.f talk-ADR.m
 ‘Fürchtend und zitternd besprach er die Streitfrage.’ (‘Scared and trembling he discussed the dispute.’)

¹⁷ Example repeated from ex. (7.3).

¹⁸ The suffix *-feed* is probably the simultaneous converb suffix *-fâ-t/fê-t* of my data.

8.9. General quasi-converb

To form the general quasi-converb, a person suffix of the dependent set is added to the realis verb stem and followed by an invariable suffix *-rè*. This suffix is reminiscent of the *-r-à/ē* general converb suffix, but the difference is that in the general quasi-converb suffix *-rè* there is no gender differentiation and the tone is always low.

Realis stem (+number) + person_{DEP} + *-rè*

This form is the least understood dependent verb form in Yemsa. Its use is very rare. In my corpus only one instance was found in spontaneous speech (cf. ex. (8.36) below); other examples were elicited. The conditions of its use remain unclear. In all instances it can be replaced by a converbal form: either by the general or by the simultaneous converb, depending on the situation to be described. This is probably one reason why it is found so sparsely. The main difference between it and the two converbs by which it can be replaced is that person is marked on it.

- (8.36) *Óom-íí(s) ússh-ē zâyè-nā-rè=tǔ màngū wòst-ō wòstě-t*
 other.m-DEF drink.CV-M get.drunk-3-QCV=FOC bad work-VN work.M-SS
fè-f-ē.
 live.M-IPFV-3m
 ‘The others drink too much and do bad work.’

To form the different subject variant of the general quasi-converb the suffix *-f*, which functions as an imperfective marker in other verb forms, is added to the simple general quasi-converb form. The person markers occur with the IPFV vowel (*-a-* or *-e-*, depending on person, cf. section 4.7).

Realis stem (+number) + *-f* + person_{DEP,IPFV} + *-rè*

This is the only verb form in Yemsa where *-f* has DS-marking function, and the only DS-marked dependent verb form where subject change is not marked by the person-sensitive DS markers known from the DS converb. The following examples show the use of the SS and DS-marked forms of the general quasi-converb (repeated from (7.58) and (7.59), respectively):

- (8.37) *Ĭchĭm-nā-rè gāndè.*
 dry-3-QCV fall
 ‘It dried and fell.’ (e.g. wood)
- (8.38) *Ĭchĭm-f-ānā-rè kèp’-ē sòokè-tē.*
 dry-DS-3-QCV collect[.CV]-M light-3POL
 ‘It dried and he/she collected and lit it.’

The f-marked form is used in a further function without calling for a different subject of the following verb: together with the verb *shákū* ‘not do’ in the counterfactual obligative or the optative it forms the negative counterpart of the counterfactual obligative (cf. section 6.2.7).

8.10. Temporal 1

The first temporal subordinate form in Yemsa can be combined either with realis or irrealis verb forms. It is constructed with an optional plural marker, a person suffix of the dependent set (realis verb form) or future set (irrealis verb form), cf. section 4.8.1 above, and the suffix *-nnēen*.

Realis stem (+ number) + person_{DEP} + *-nnēen*
hām-è-nā-nnēen ‘when they have gone’

Irrealis stem (+ number) + person_{FUT} + *-nnēen*
kār’-ō-nē-nnēen ‘until they (pol.) reach (a place)’

With the irrealis verb form *-nnēen* has terminative meaning (‘until’), whereas with the realis verb form the reading is sequential. Very often, however, the realis temporal 1 is followed by an adverb which specifies the temporal relation to the next event:

dī-nā-nnēen hānkālō ‘after I/he/she have/has sat down’

In this example, this is achieved by *hānkālō* ‘after’. Other adverbs and lexicalised converbs can be used in that position, such as ‘after’, ‘before’, ‘since’, and so forth.

Examples (8.39) and (8.40) show temporal forms with and without a temporal adverb, respectively:

- (8.39) *Wàagàa-s dèy mīyā, fàntū, fizō, fàzà, hānyā kót-ésé-r-ē*
 cattle-DEF TOP cow.f sheep.f goat.f horse.f donkey.f untie-PL-CV-M
féesh-dīmā hām-è-nā-nnēen wàagàa-s-ō kéem-fē-t shòwō
 spend.the.day-place go-PL-3-TEMP₁ cattle-DEF-ACC.f watch-SIM.M-SS many
tésā kàssō kàssè-sé-f-ē.
 kind game play-PL-IPFV-3m
 ‘The livestock are cows, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys, and when they have untied them and gone to the place where they spend the day, they play many kinds of games while watching the livestock.’

- (8.40) *Mīini kèzzò è’sō kèebā=kèebā ùfēsshū*
 cow.GEN.f herdsman morning house.3mPOSS.f=house.3mPOSS.f breakfast
mè-sé-nā-nnēen òrfō íntō-bā=íntō-bāa-s gālā kácch-à
 eat.M-PL-3-TEMP₁ after mother-3mPOSS.f=mother-3mPOSS.f-DEF lunch wrap.CV-F

8. Dependent verb forms

īmī-n;

give.3-DS

‘After the cowherds have eaten breakfast at their house, their mothers wrap the lunch and give it (to them);’

The temporal 1 may also occur with an abtemporal meaning (‘since’):

(8.41) *Dànnābā kâtāmā giri-r-à dī-nī-nnēen hànè àsirèàngnè nèyà.*

D. town enter-CV-F sit-1p-TEMP₁ this.year eighteen year

‘This year it is eighteen years since we came to live in Dannaba.’

Rather than using a temporal 1 form, a temporal relation is often expressed by an adnominal form attributed to the noun *kābā* ‘time’ in the locative case:

(8.42) *Ìsà mǎshkàsū ēwā wāashá-nā-k shōlē-f-ànà kābāa-s-īk wònà*

one woman ensete harvest.IRR-3-PURP want-IPFV-3f time-DEF-LOC.f date

dù-sì-r-à, wòlkō-bāa-s-ī-kìtō-nòn, mǎshkā-r-òn,

sit-CAUS-CV-F neighbour.f-3fPOSS.f-DEF-GEN.f-PL.f-ACC.f female-NML-ACC.f

àtkà-r-īn shiip’ē-f-à.

male-NML-ACC.m ask-IPFV-3f

‘When a woman wants to harvest ensete she fixes a date and asks her male and female neighbours.’

When the temporal 1 contains the suffix *-f* a negative connotation is expressed (adversative); the *-f* otherwise occurring as IPFV suffix has no aspect value here (cf. section 7.4 above).

An irrealis temporal 1 form with a terminative meaning (‘until’) is shown in the next example:

(8.43) *Ēs-tā-n àsirèúuchē wònà kár’-á-nā-nnēen wòlkò, kóon fòchā¹⁹*

DEM-on-ABL fifteen day reach-IRR-3-TEMP₁ neighbour.m relative.m forecourt

tòshà kèjj-ē dī-fāa-t wāas-f-ēn;

canopy stab.CV-M sit-SEQ.M-SS wail-IPFV-DS.3

‘Then, until fifteen days (have passed), the neighbours and the relatives build (lit.: stick) a canopy in the forecourt, sit down and wail;’

-nēen/-néen (without a geminate *n*; gender-sensitive) is the comitative case marker (cf. section 3.3 above). It may also occur together with adverbials indicating temporal or spatial relations. In the next example, both the comitative and a temporal meaning occur:

(8.44) *“Āgē-nēen nīttó-néen²⁰ innò-nēen gùmā sinn-à fó-nī?”*

when-COMIT.f 2p-COMIT.f 1p-COMIT.f enemy become.CV-F live.IRR-1p

‘“How long [until when] will we remain enemies, you and we?”’

¹⁹ *fòchā* ‘forecourt’ is an inherently locative noun, like e.g. *gābā* ‘market’.

The spatial/temporal use of the comitative suffix *-nĕen/-néen* with nouns and adverbs parallels the verbal temporal use of *-nnĕen*, and the verbal suffix is certainly related to the comitative case marker. As a hypothesis, the gemination of the first *-n* could stem from a nominaliser *-r* before the case suffix *-nĕen*.

8.11. Temporal 2

The second temporal form is built from the realis verb form, a possible realis plural marker, a person suffix of the dependent set and a temporal suffix *-(y)sē*.

Realis stem (+ number) + person_{DEP} + *-(y)sē*

The forms with or without *-y-* seem to occur in free variation. Where there is no *-y-* the vowel of the person suffix is lengthened:

yè-sè-tēesē ‘when they (pl.) have come’

mĕ-nā-ysē ‘while he eats’

This is the same variation as with the definite suffix on nouns (cf. section 3.7), and therefore it seems reasonable to assume that a definite suffix is present in the temporal 2 suffix, together with the simulative case marker *-nē* (cf. section 3.3 above). Consider example (3.63) in that section for an occurrence of the suffix *-(y)sē* on nominals, with simulative function.

Functionally, the temporal 2 differs slightly from the temporal 1, although in certain environments either of them may occur:

- (8.45) *És-bār dèy mām̄si-nā-ysē/ mām̄si-nā-nnĕen kèer-ūn āané*
 DEM-3sf TOP ask-3-TEMP₂ ask-3-TEMP₁ house_{LOC}-ABL NEG
kés-à.
 exit/ascend-3sfNEG
 ‘When they visited him, they did not come out of the (Lion’s) house.’

With the temporal 2, the succession of the events is immediate; often there is a close link between them:

- (8.46) *Àfi è’sō kún-dīmā-n kàbì-nāa-sē gachùwàa-s-ō kótt-ē kéemm-ē*
 A. morning lie-place-ABL get.up-3-TEMP₂ oxen-DEF-ACC.f untie.CV-M watch.CV-M
gàw-sì-f-ēn; ...
 satiate-CAUS-IPFV-DS.3

²⁰ The tones of *nīt̄t̄ó-néen* are explained by the application of the rules SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH operating on the suffix and ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID operating on the first syllable, cf. section 2.6.3.

8. Dependent verb forms

‘When Afi gets out of his bed in the morning he unties the oxen, watches and feeds them; ...’

- (8.47) ...*bâr âr-û-nì* *kèer-ûn* *yâ-nâasē* *gèrègèrè*
 3sf learn-VN-GEN.f house_{LOC}-ABL come.F-3.TEMP₂ immediately
mây-bâa-s-ô *sòolè-r-à* *wòst-ô-nì* *mâyà màyi*.
 clothes-3fPOSS.f-DEF-ACC.f change-CV-F work-VN-GEN.f clothes put.on
 ‘...when she comes from school she changes clothes immediately and puts on working clothes.’

- (8.48) *Zàkkàriyās wôsīyâa-s-ô* *bÿ-nâa-sē* *nāyē-r-ē* *dìgè*.
 Zechariah messenger-DEF-ACC.f see-3-TEMP₂ become.shocked-CV-M fear
 ‘When Zechariah saw the angel, he was startled and was gripped with fear.’
 (Official translation of chapter 1, verse 12 of the Gospel of Luke)

In the next example, the use of the temporal 1 was explicitly disfavoured by the informant.

- (8.49) *Yèsũs yè-r-ē* *és-tā* *kár’-nâasē* *èkkā yĩ*:
 Jesus come.M-CV-M DEM-on reach-3.TEMP₂ like.this say
 ‘Jesus came and when he had reached (the place) he said this:’

An IPFV-marked variant of the temporal 2 is possible, but it only occurs in a specific environment: Together with the verb *sh’akū* ‘not do’ in the counterfactual obligative or optative mood it forms the negative counterpart of the counterfactual obligative (cf. section 6.2.7 above).

8.12. Conditional

The conditional is formed from the following components: a bare root (that is, without a stem vowel), followed by the suffix *-āa/-fāa* familiar from the sequential converb, followed by a dependent person suffix, and finally by the conditional suffix *-nē*. The occurrence of *-āa* vs. *-fāa* underlies the same restrictions as with the sequential converb. That is to say, which verbs occur with *-fāa* only and which occur with either *-fāa* or *-āa* is lexically determined. With the *-fāa* variant the realis stem is used. The plural-marked forms occur only with this variant.

Root + *-āa* + person_{DEP} + *-nē*
 or realis stem (+ number) + *-fāa* + person_{DEP} + *-nē*

The conditional suffix *-nē* also occurs as a nominal suffix, namely the indefinite similitive (cf. section 3.3 above).

As example paradigms, the conditional forms of the a-class verbs *shùkà* ‘slaughter’ and *kōyā* ‘chew’ are provided, the latter of which is only possible with the *-fāa* suffix.

COND of *shùkà* ‘slaughter’

1s	<i>shùk-àa-nā-nē</i>	1p	<i>shùk-àa-nī-nē</i>
2s	<i>shùk-àa-nā-nē</i>	2p/END	<i>shùk-àa-tī-nē</i>
	2POL		<i>shùk-àa-nī-nē</i>
	3		<i>shùk-àa-nā-nē</i>
	3POL		<i>shùk-āa-tē-nē</i>

COND of *kōyā* ‘chew’

1s	<i>kòy-fāa-nā-nē</i>	1p	<i>kòy-fāa-nī-nē</i>
2s	<i>kòy-fāa-tā-nē</i>	2p/END	<i>kòy-fāa-tī-nē</i>
2sPOL	<i>kòy-fāa-nī-nē</i>	2pPOL	<i>kòy-èsé-fāa-nī-nē</i>
3s	<i>kòy-fāa-nā-nē</i>	3p	<i>kòy-èsé-fāa-nā-nē</i>
3sPOL	<i>kòy-fāa-tē-nē</i>	3pPOL	<i>kòy-èsé-fāa-tē-nē</i>

The conditional is used in the protasis of realis, irrealis and counterfactual conditional clauses. The verb used in the apodosis often occurs in the future form, but also in the nominalised simple.

- (8.50) *Àt’k’ā àsù hēbō-bā èpp’-ē àtū-bā-sī kōyū*
 male man spear-3mPOSS.f take.CV-M body-3mPOSS.f-in be.dry.VN
*sin-fāa-nā-nē és-bār-īn bīi-r-ē=tū àat-ù-nā.*²¹
 become-SEQ-3-COND DEM-3sm-ACC.m see-CV-M=FOC let.pass-IRR-3[FUT]
 ‘If it was a strong man with his spear (who came by) they would see him and let him pass.’ (Lit.: ‘If a man had taken his spear and there was dryness in his body...’)

Realis and irrealis conditional clauses are not formally distinct:

- (8.51) *Nāa-s bīrrī-s-ō dân-fāa-nā-nē nàwà-s-īk sin-nì*
 boy-DEF money-DEF-ACC.f find-SEQ-3-COND girl-DEF-LOC.f become-3FUT.ADN
īmā wàagě-r.
 gift buy.m-NML
 ‘If the boy gets/got the money he will/would buy a present for the girl.’

The counterfactual conditional is characterised by the use of the auxiliary *sinā* ‘become’ in the conditional, following the main verb in the simple or nominalised simple form. In addition, the post-verbal particle *kābā* occurs at the end of the apodosis:

- (8.52) “*Ně hān-tā fā-tā-r sin-fāa-nā-nē ày-tā kīt-ù-nā*
 2s DEM-on be.there.F-2s-NML become-SEQ-3-COND brother-1sPOSS.m die-IRR-3
kābā-tá=wā.”
 PART_{IRR}-NEG-ADR.m

²¹ Example repeated from ex. (6.6) above.

8. Dependent verb forms

“If you had been here my brother wouldn’t have died.”

The contrast can be seen in the following pair of elicited examples, where ex. (8.53a) represents a realis/irrealis and ex. (8.53b) a counterfactual conditional:

- (8.53) a. *Īrō ích-ā shák-āa-nā-nē mā’ā-r-wà.*
rain hit-VN miss-SEQ-3-COND good.f-NML-ADR.m
‘It would be/is good if it did/does not rain.’
- b. *Īrō ích-ā shákí sìn-fāa-nā-nē mā’ā-r-wà.*
rain hit-VN miss become-SEQ-3-COND good.f-NML-ADR.m
‘It would have been good if it had not rained.’

Post-verbal *kābā* does not occur here probably because there is no verb in the apodosis.

8.13. Negative conditional

The negative conditional is characterised by the dependent negative suffix *-nōy* and the suffix *-ròn*. The latter is unique to the negative conditional, while *-nōy* is also used in the negative converb and the negative purposive (cf. section 4.11.4 above). *-ròn* might be composed of the nominaliser *-r* and the adverbialiser *-òn*, but since there are no comparable verb forms this is difficult to prove.

Irrealis stem (+ number) + *nōy* + person_{DEP} + *-ròn*
kàbù-nōy-tā-ròn ‘if you (sg.) do not stand up’

In the next example, *-nōy* occurs as *-nō*:

- (8.54) “*Ně Kìristānā káb-ù-n-ō-tā-ròn tāabōtā nè-k āakkā-k*
2s Christian stand.up-IRR-NEG_{DEP}-2s-COND_{NEG} Tabot 2s-LOC how-LOC.f
ím-á-nī?”
give-IRR-1p
‘ “If you do not become a Christian how would we give you the *Tabot*?” ’

8.14. Complement form

The simulative 2 case suffix *-mātó* (cf. section 3.3) is used in two quasi-converbs: either as a simulative marker (cf. next section) or as a complementiser of indirect speech²² with verbs of saying, hearing and cognition.

It occurs in a simple and an IPFV-marked form; with the latter the IPFV dependent person markers are used:

²² In spite of Schaumberger’s (MSa) statement that Yemsa has direct speech only, there are a few instances of indirect speech.

Realis stem (+ number) + person_{DEP} + *mātó*
wòstè-nā-mātó ‘that I/he/she worked’

Realis stem (+ number) + IPFV + person_{DEP} + *mātó*
wòstè-f-ēnā-mātó ‘that he works’

- (8.55) “*Ô āaf-bā-s-ō gǎch-nā-mātó innò àané àrì-f-ēnī, bǎr-īn*
 who eye-3mPOSS.f-DEF-ACC.f open-3-like 1p NEG know-IPFV-1p 3sm-ACC
màms-ù-tī.”
 ask-IRR-2p
 ‘ “ We don’t know who opened his eye(s), ask him.” ’

Another example for this form is *sìn-nā-mātó* in ex. (8.58) below.

In the following example, the complement form is used in indirect speech, which is otherwise rare in Yemsa: Reported speech in texts is normally coded as direct speech followed by a converb form of *wū* ‘say’ and another verb of saying.

- (8.56) *Bāassō ābāa-s-ík āakkā dùpè-r-ē*
 3pPOL[.POSS] father-DEF-LOC.m how hunt-CV-M
féesh-é-tē-mātó-nāwā ò-nīn dùp-sè-tē-mātó-nā
 spend.the.day-PL-3POL-like-and.m who-ACC hunt-PL-3POL-like-and.m
dùp-ō-s-sī-n dèy āw dân-è-tē-mātó màk-sé-tē.
 hunt-VN-DEF-in-ABL TOP what find-PL-3POL-like tell-PL-3POL
 ‘They told their father how they had spent the day hunting, whom they were hunting and what they had got (lit.: found) from hunting.’

There is one example in my corpus where the similative 1 case suffix is used instead of *-mātó* to express indirect speech:

- (8.57) “*Ēs àkā wùuk-t-ò-nā bàr-ík sìn-nā-nē āw[-k] màms-ù-nā.*”
 DEM water pour-PASS-IRR-3 3sf-LOC.f become-3-like what-LOC.f ask-IRR-1s
 ‘I will ask whether it is by pouring water.’

The complement form may be used in similative function as well, as shown in ex. (8.59) below.

8.15. Similative

Compared to the complement form, the similative verb form contains an additional genitive suffix before *-mātó*, thereby paralleling the use of the latter as a case marker on nouns (cf. section 3.3). It is composed of the realis stem (cf. section 4.5), the realis plural suffix (cf. section 4.6), a person suffix of the dependent set (cf. section 4.8.1), the feminine definite genitive suffix *-sī* and the similative suffix *-mātó* (cf. section 3.3). The person suffix is lengthened in this construction because of the definite suffix.

8. Dependent verb forms

Realis stem (+ number) + person_{DEP} + *-sī* + *-mātó*
māké-nāa-sī-mātó ‘as I/he/she told’

The imperfective suffix *-f* may also occur in this verb form. In this case the imperfective dependent person markers are used:

Realis stem (+ number) + IPFV + person_{DEP.IPFV} + *-sī* + *-mātó*
mākē-f-ānāa-sī-mātó ‘as I/she tell(s)’

- (8.58) *Bār māké-nāa-s-ī-mātó kèer gírì-fà-t hām-f-à-t ánó²³*
3sm tell-3-DEF-GEN.f-like house_{LOC} enter-SIM.F-SS go-IPFV-3f-but.f
kèer-ùn kés-f-à isánné āa-f-á sìn-nā-mātó bǐ.
house_{LOC}-ABL exit/ascend-IPFV-3f nobody NEG-be.there-3f become-3-like see
‘He saw that as he had told (them), they entered the house but no one came out of it.’

In the following example either the complement or the similitive form can be used with a similitive meaning:

- (8.59) *Wòstè-nā-mātó / wòstè-nāa-s-ī-mātó dàn-ò.*
work-3-like work-3-DEF-GEN.f-like find-3mJUSS
‘Let him obtain according to his work.’ (Lit.: ‘Let him find like he worked.’)

8.16. Purposive

The purposive is formed from the irrealis stem, a person suffix of the future set (cf. section 4.8.1) and the suffix *-k*. This suffix is also used as a locative suffix on nouns, where it may convey dative or instrumental meaning (cf. section 3.3). Thus, the purposive is the future adnominal form (cf. section 8.1.2 above) plus the case marker *-k*.

Irrealis stem (+ number) + person_{FUT} + *-k*
úshá-tā-k ‘in order for you (sg.) to drink’

The purposive is used to express a purpose, that is to say, an intention with which the action of the following verb is carried out. It can be used if its subject and that of the following verb are the same (cf. ex. (8.60)) or different (cf. ex. (8.61)).

²³ The use of a simultaneous converb as V₁ of a compound verb is atypical, since the SIM converb normally describes an independent action carried out simultaneously with the action of the main verb, not a specific semantic aspect of such an action, as it is arguably the case with the relation between ‘enter’ and ‘go’.

- (8.60) ...kèer yà-f-àná kábāa-s-ĩk íntō-bāa-s mēethà'ū
 house_{LOC} come.F-IPFV-3f time-DEF-LOC.f mother-3fPOSS.f-DEF dinner
kòot-ò-nē-k ùsā dòo'-īsī-n fùss-ē...
 cook-IRR-3POL.FUT-PURP [ensete.bread] hole-in-ABL take.out.CV-M
 '...when she comes home, her mother takes *k'och'o* out of the hole in order to cook dinner...'
- (8.61) Éetó mètètè-r-ē kún-fāa-t bùur'ū-kī gònyō hāmm-à
 Lion.m be.sick-CV-m lie-SEQ.m-SS forest-ATTR_{LOC} wild.animal go.CV-f
māms-ù-nā-k àjǎjī àatì.
 ask-IRR-3-PURP order[ORO] pass
 'As Lion was sick, he issued [lit.: passed] an order for the animals in the forest to come [lit.: go] and visit him.'

However, there are examples without typical purposive semantics such as ex. (8.62) where the purposive forms assume a complementiser-like function:

- (8.62) Àsù-nī-mèyà Hā'ō-s-kī wǒl-sō-nē-k, Hā'ō-s-ō
 man-GEN.m-PL_{HUM} God-DEF-ALL return-PL_{IRR}-3POL-PURP God-DEF-ACC.f
āmān-sō-nē-k, bōor'-bēsì-s-tā-n
 believe-PL_{IRR}-3POL-PURP fault-3pPOL.POSS-DEF-on-ABL
wǒl-sō-nē-k màké-t=tú fè.
 return-PL_{IRR}-3POL-PURP tell.m-SS=FOC be.there.3m
 'He kept telling the people to return to God, to believe in God, to return from their sin.'

The purposive is also used with the verb *shōlō* 'want, need'. The broad semantics of the purposive are partly due to the fact that the purposive and the long verbal noun are often used interchangeably (cf. next section).

8.17. Long verbal noun

At first sight, the long verbal noun looks like a purposive form without a person suffix. Tonal analysis, however, reveals that it is formed from the verbal noun and the locative case marker and is thus a perfectly nominal form, whereas the purposive is formed from the future adnominal form and takes its person suffixes.

Verbal Noun + -k
wāagō-k 'to trade'

Functionally, the long verbal noun and the purposive are often interchangeable, the long verbal noun being preferred if there is subject identity with the main verb.

8. Dependent verb forms

- (8.63) *Àfi àbà-báa-s-īn wòst-ō-k àrgàsí-r.*
 A. father-3mPOSS.m-DEF-ACC.m work-VN-LOC.f help.m-NML
 ‘Afi helps his father work.’
- (8.64) *Ībē nòonō-bāa-s tīch-ā-k āané àr-tè-f-à.*
 earlier mouth-3mPOSS.f-DEF write-VN-LOC.f NEG learn-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘In former times, writing their (lit.: his) language used not to be learned.’
- (8.65) *...bāsā wòllàa-s-ōn ōdō-k shòwō àsù bāsā òrfō-s-ē*
 3smPOSS speech-DEF-ACC.f hear.VN-LOC.f many man 3smPOSS back-DEF-like
yè-sè-f-ē.
 come.M-PL-IPFV-3m
 ‘...many men went (lit.: came) after him to hear his speech.’

There are no verbs that specifically call for either the purposive or the long verbal noun. Thus, e.g. *chīmā* ‘be able to’, *shōlō* ‘want/like’, *jāmmārō* ‘begin’, *hāmā* ‘go’ and *ārū* ‘learn/know’ are used with both.²⁴

The long verbal noun is not used as subject or object of another verb. In that function only the verbal noun occurs.

8.18. Concessive

The same suffix *-k* is used in the concessive, here in combination with the realis stem, the suffix *-f* and the imperfective dependent person markers (cf. section 4.8.1). Thus, formally, the concessive is the IPFV-marked form of the purposive.

Realis stem (+ number) + *-f* + person_{DEP,IPFV} + *-k*
kùns-ì-f-ēnā-k ‘even though he put’

- (8.66) *Tá nèkī yā-f-ānā-k dŭ-nā-wūzā āa-fā.*²⁵
 1s 2s.at come.F-f-3f-CONC sit.IRR-1s-thing NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘Even if I come to you I will not stay.’

8.19. Negative purposive

Together with the suffix *-nōy* otherwise occurring in the negative converb and the negative conditional the suffix *-mātó* has negative purposive meaning. In this construction the dependent person suffixes are used, in contrast to the affirmative purposive, where the future suffixes are used.

²⁴ *bèyà* ‘cease/refuse’, *shākā* ‘not do’ and *kò’sū* ‘finish’, on the other hand, are combined with the verbal noun (or a general converb in the case of *kò’sū* ‘finish’).

²⁵ Example repeated from ex. (7.64).

Irrealis stem (+ number) + *nŏy* + person_{DEP} + *-mātó*

- (8.67) *Mīyā gir-ù-nŏy-nā-mātó gĩmbī kèer'-nī.*
 cow enter-IRR-NEG_{DEP}-3-like wall[AMH] build-1p
 ‘We built a wall lest the cows enter.’

- (8.68) “*Hān i'ōo-s-ī gāanà-nò mù-nóy-tī-mātó [mùnóttīmātó]*
 DEM tree-DEF-GEN.f fruit-ACC.f eat-IRR-NEG_{DEP}-2p-like
kāltò-nó-sé?” yī-n; ...
 forbidden-COP_Q-ADR_Q.f say.3-DS
 ‘ “Is it forbidden for you to eat (lit.: lest you eat) the fruit of this tree?” it
 said; ...’

8.20. Overview

This section recapitulates the formation of the dependent verb forms. Where the suffixes represent categories that are not specific to dependent verb forms, only the category label is given in table 8.1. For simplicity’s sake, plural marking is not included in the table; there is the possibility of having a plural marker in nearly all of the dependent verb forms (cf. preceding sections and section 4.6).

Verb form	Suffix	Example
ADNOM OBJ ²⁶	[REAL] [PERS _{DEP}]	<i>àrì-nā</i> ‘which I/he/she learnt’
IPFV.OBJ	[REAL] [IPFV] ([GEND]) [PERS _{DEP}]	<i>àrì-f-ànà</i> ‘which I/she know(s)’
PROG.OBJ	[REAL] [PROG] ([GEND]) [PERS _{DEP}]	<i>àrì-dīf-ànà</i> ‘which I/she am/is learning’
FUT.SUBJ	[IRR] [PERS _{ADN.FUT}]	<i>èp’-nì</i> ‘(he/she) who will take’
NEG	[IRR] -nǒy	<i>yò-nǒy</i> ‘that does not come’
General CV	[REAL] -r [GEND]	<i>wàagè-r-ē</i> ‘he buy/selling’
CV _{DS}	[REAL] [Pers.-sens.]	<i>bùlē-n</i> ‘he/she/you cultivating’
IPFV	[REAL] [IPFV] [Pers.-sens.]	<i>gàwsi-f-ēn</i> ‘he/she satiating’
CV _{SEQ} SS	[ROOT] -aa [GEND] -t	<i>kò’s-āa-t</i> ‘he having finished’
	[REAL] -faa [GEND] -t	<i>kò’sì-fāa-t</i> ‘he having finished’
CV _{SEQ} DS	[ROOT] -āa [Pers.-sens.]	<i>kāas-āa-n</i> ‘he/she having paid’
	[REAL] -faa [Pers.-sens.] ([GEND])	<i>shák-fāa-n</i> ‘she having become silent’
CV _{MAN} SS	[REAL] [GEND] -t	<i>kāssē-t</i> ‘he playing’
CV _{SIM} SS	[REAL] [IPFV] [GEND] -t	<i>kéem-f-ē-t</i> ‘while watching (he)’
CV _{IT}	[ROOT] -āaf [GEND]	<i>kùns-āaf-ē</i> ‘he repeatedly putting’

	[REAL] -táaf [GEND]	<i>mèttè-táaf-ē</i> 'he repeatedly becoming sick'
	[REAL] -fáaf [GEND]	<i>mèttè-fáaf-ē</i> 'he repeatedly becoming sick'
CV _{NEG}	[IRR] -nǒy	<i>yò-nǒy</i> 'without/before coming'
QCV	[REAL] [PERS _{DEP}] -rê	<i>tòrì-nā-rê</i> 'I/he/she ploughing'
DS	-f [PERS _{DEP}] -rê/-rē	<i>ìchīm-f-ànà-rê</i> 'it drying'
TEMP ₁	[REAL] [PERS _{DEP}] -nnēen	<i>kún-nā-nnēen</i> 'when I/he/she lay/lie(s) down'
IRR	[IRR] [PERS _{FUT}] -nnēen	<i>kár'-ō-nē-nnēen</i> 'until they reach'
ADVS	[REAL] -f [PERS _{DEP}] -nnēen	<i>kún-f-ànà-nnēen</i> 'when I/she lay/lie(s) down'
TEMP ₂	[REAL] [PERS _{DEP}] -(y)sē	<i>mě-nā-ysē</i> 'when I/he/she eat(s)'
COND	[ROOT] -āa [PERS _{DEP}] -nē	<i>wòst-āa-nā-nē</i> 'if I/he/she work(s)'
	[REAL] -fāa [PERS _{DEP}] -nē	<i>wòstè-fāa-nā-nē</i> 'if I/he/she work(s)'
NEG COND	[IRR] -nǒy [PERS _{DEP}] -ròn	<i>kàbù-nǒy-nā-ròn</i> 'if I/he/she do(es) not stand up'
COMP	[REAL] [PERS _{DEP}] -mātó	<i>wòstè-nā-mātó</i> 'that I/he/she worked'
IPFV	[REAL] [IPFV] [PERS _{DEP}] -mātó	<i>wòstè-f-ēnà-mātó</i> 'that I/he/she work'
SIMIL	[REAL] [PERS _{DEP}] [DEF.GEN] -mātó	<i>màké-nāasī-mātó</i> 'as I/he/she said'
IPFV	[REAL] [IPFV] [PERS _{DEP}] [DEF.GEN] -mātó	<i>màké-f-ēnàasī-mātó</i>

		‘as he says’
PURP	[IRR] [PERS _{FUT}] -k	<i>úshá-tā-k</i> ‘for you to drink’
Long VN	[VN] -k	<i>úshā-k</i> ‘(in order) to drink’
CONC	[REAL] -f [PERS _{DEP}] -k	<i>kùnsì-f-ēnà-k</i> ‘even if he puts down’
NEG PURP	[IRR] -nǒy [PERS _{DEP}] -mātó	<i>gìrù-nǒy-nā-mātó</i> ‘lest I/he/she enter’

Table 8.1.: Formation of dependent verb forms

²⁶ The subject adnominal forms of the simple, imperfective and progressive and the object adnominal forms of the future have the same form as their main verb counterparts and are therefore not included in this table. The negative adnominal has the same form as the negative converb.

As we have seen in the preceding sections, many dependent verb forms are marked by suffixes that occur as case markers on nouns as well. These forms will be called *quasi-converbs*, cf. section 8.21.1 below. Table 8.2 offers a comparison of the functions of these suffixes on nouns and quasi-converbs.

Case marker		Suffix of quasi-converb	
Form	Function	Form	Function
- <i>k</i>	Locative (instrumental, dative)	- <i>k</i>	Long VN, purposive, concessive
- <i>mātó</i>	Similative	- <i>mātó</i>	Similative, complement, neg. purp.
- <i>nē</i>	Similative	- <i>nē</i>	Conditional
-(<i>y</i>) <i>sē</i>	Def. similative	-(<i>y</i>) <i>sē</i>	Temporal
- <i>néen</i>	Comitative (temporal, spatial)	- <i>nnēen</i>	Temporal

Table 8.2.: Case markers on nouns and on quasi-converbs

The clearest functional links are between similative -*mātó* on nouns and on quasi-converbs and the dative meaning of locative -*k* on nouns and the long VN/purposive on quasi-converbs. The wide use of similative suffixes on quasi-converbs is interesting for two reasons: First, they have functions as diverse as similative, complement, negative purposive, conditional and temporal. Secondly, (and even more remarkably) a definite and a non-definite version of the same case marker can be used for different functions on quasi-converbs.²⁷ Nevertheless, even in rarely attested cases cross-linguistically (such as the comitative suffix with temporal value), functional links are conceivable.

The suffix of the general quasi-converb -*rè* and the suffix of the negative conditional -*ròn* neither exist as case markers, nor do they appear elsewhere in the grammar of Yemsa. A possible etymology of -*ròn* was outlined above in section 8.13.

8.21. Definition of converb

In this section on converb definition I will concentrate on the forms that are used in clause linkage, i.e. converbs and quasi-converbs. The aim is to clarify which forms can be regarded as converbs in Yemsa, and by which criteria they can be set apart from main verbs. On the other hand, the distinction between converbs and quasi-converbs will be addressed.

It is generally accepted that a converb is a dependent verb form which cannot constitute a sentence on its own and which is neither the argument of another predicate nor a nominal modifier. This excludes functionally finite verb forms on the one hand and verbal nouns and participles on the other. Beyond this point scholars' views

²⁷ As a recent discovery suggests, the similative suffix can also be added to a nominalised future form, yielding an immediate future reading together with an existential verb: *īmnr-nē fār* 'she is about to give'. This form needs closer examination.

8. Dependent verb forms

diverge. Van der Auwera (1998) offers a synopsis of the current definitions of *converb* which clarifies the most important differences, cf. table 8.3.

+dependent, -argumental, -adnominal			
+embedded ‘subordinate’		-embedded ‘cosubordinate’	
+finite	-finite	+finite	-finite
subordinate mood	converb <i>sensu stricto</i>	inflected narrative converb ‘cosubordinate mood’	medial verb
converb <i>sensu latiore</i>			

Table 8.3.: Converb definitions found in the literature (van der Auwera 1998)

One of the most popular definitions of *converb* is by Haspelmath (1995). He uses a *sensu strictu* converb term. For him, a converb is both non-finite and necessarily subordinate to its main clause. However, such a definition runs into problems when it comes to subordination: First, his criteria for subordination are difficult to apply for many languages because they are based on European languages. Secondly, the most widespread converb type—the converb status of which is generally unquestioned—is primarily used in chaining constructions, which are mostly not subordinate.²⁸

Genetti (2005) evaluates the criterion of subordination for Dolakha Newar and concludes that syntactic tests do not allow for a meaningful distinction between subordinate, coordinate and cosubordinate forms in that language. Following Bickel (1998) she suspects that for many Asian languages such tests are not applicable, and that there is a specific type of converb—i.e. the above-mentioned chaining or general converb—which is highly versatile and ‘systematically conflates adverbial modification and narrative chaining in a single (set of) dependent verb form(s)’ (Bickel 1998:395). Bickel (1998) calls this type ‘Asian converb’ although it is more widespread and common also e.g. in Ethiopian languages.

In section 8.21.2 below I will examine whether the criterion of subordination is applicable to the dependent verb forms in Yemsa.

While for Nedjalkov (1995) neither subordination nor nonfiniteness are defining criteria for converbs (thereby using a *sensu latiore* converb definition in van der Auwera’s (1998) words), for Ebert (2008, MS) morphological nonfiniteness is crucial for a verb form to be called a *converb*. On the other hand, subordination subordination is not crucial for Ebert (2008, MS). She defines a converb as ‘a morphologically non-finite form of the verbal paradigm which is typically used in dependent clauses’ (Ebert

²⁸ Admittedly, it often occurs also in a modifying function in what Haspelmath (1995) would call subordinate clauses.

MS:30). Specifically, she criticises some scholars' *sensu latiore* use of the term for verb forms that have the same grammatical categories marked as the finite main verb while occurring in dependent function. At the same time she acknowledges that finiteness is gradual in nature and that it is not always easy to define converb forms if they are only minimally reduced in terms of the number of categories marked (Ebert 2008:8, 25f).

Especially in descriptions of Ethiopian languages, a *sensu latiore* use of 'converb' has become popular since Polotsky's (1951:41) syntactic definition of the term for the description of the Ethiosemitic Gurage language Chaha. Ebert (MS) points out that in Ethiopian linguistics, morphologically finite forms with a chaining function are often called *converb* while on the other hand, less finite forms with more specific functions are not identified as such. Generally, Ethiopian languages 'exhibit a bewildering variety of converbs' (Ebert 2008:26), differing widely in their morphological type and degree of finiteness.

In section 8.21.3 below I will evaluate the differences in morphological finiteness of the dependent verb forms in Yemsa, and see how the grammatical categories marked diverge from those of the main verb.

8.21.1. Quasi-converbs

Quasi-converbs are forms of nominal origin that are used in functions where other languages use converbs.²⁹ Ebert (MS:25) states that 'quasi-converbs, which are made up of a participle/verbal noun + case marker or postposition, are a very common means for expressing temporal relations in Asian languages.' In Yemsa there is no dedicated marker for participles, but there are adnominal forms with characteristic sets of person markers. There are a number of dependent verb forms used in clause linkage that take the same sets of person markers, along with specific suffixes which are clearly linked to nominal case markers (cf. table 8.2 above). I call these forms quasi-converbs. In addition, there is one dependent verb form built from a verbal noun: the long verbal noun. Like the other quasi-converbs, it is not used as an argument and takes a nominal case suffix, but unlike them, it contains no person marker.

8.21.2. Syntactic criteria in Yemsa

Haspelmath (1995) lists a series of criteria to test the subordinate status of converb clauses:

²⁹ Nedjalkov (1995) defined quasi-converbs as follows: 'The functions that in some languages are fulfilled by canonical converbs can be fulfilled in other languages (and often also in the same languages) by forms that also have other functions, especially functions that are typical for the participle, the infinitive and the gerund. In typological studies of converbal constructions it is useful to have a common term for such multifunctional formations. We propose the working term *quasi-converb* (i.e., combined converb).'

8. *Dependent verb forms*

Main clause discontinuity: A subordinate clause may appear within the main clause, thereby interrupting it.

Variable position relative to the main clause: Subordinate clauses may be placed before or after the main verb without a change in meaning.

Backwards pronominal anaphora: Pronouns in pre-posed subordinate clauses may refer to nouns in the main clause, e.g. ‘Before she went home, Mary bought some pizza.’

Possibility of focalisation: Subordinate clauses may be focused by focus markers or be in the focus of polar questions, cleft constructions or negation.

Possibility of extraction: The main clause may be questioned independently from the subordinate clause, e.g. ‘What did Alex buy, having sold his car?’

These criteria are not fulfilled by all subordinate clauses, but ‘nonsubordinate clauses fulfill none of them’ (Haspelmath 1995:12). When applying them to my Yemsa data, however, it becomes evident that the different dependent verb forms behave quite idiosyncratically and no clear pattern emerges. The criterion of variable position relative to the main clause drops out altogether since the main verb is always sentence-final in Yemsa. The results are summarised in table 8.4.

Verb form	Backwards anaph.	Main cl. discontin.	Foc.	Extraction
General CV	yes	no	yes/no	yes/no
CV _{DS} IPFV		no	yes	yes yes
CV _{SEQ} SS DS	yes	no	yes	yes
CV _{MAN}	yes	no	yes	yes
CV _{SIM}	yes	no	yes	yes
CV _{IT}				
CV _{NEG} DS	yes	no/yes	yes	yes
General QCV DS		no	yes	yes
TEMP ₁ IRR ADVS	yes	yes	no	yes
TEMP ₂	no	no	yes	yes
COND		yes	yes/no	yes
NEG COND				

COMP IPFV				
SIMIL IPFV	yes	yes	yes	yes
PURP	no	no	yes	no
Long VN	no			
NEG PURP				
CONC				

Table 8.4.: Haspelmath's (1995) criteria for subordination applied to Yemsa dependent verb forms

All verb forms could not be tested; for this reason some lines are empty. The type of data needed is not easily found in natural texts and I did not elicit examples for all forms.

Following Haspelmath's (1995) criteria, none of the verb forms are coordinate; all are subordinate in that they fulfil part of the criteria, including the typical chaining forms such as the general and the different subject converb. The verb form with the clearest result for subordination is the similative. If we exclude the criterion 'main clause discontinuity', where most (but not all) forms have a 'no' value, the converbs (first seven forms) emerge as 'more subordinate' than the quasi-converbs (the rest). Should we conclude from this that there is graduality in subordination? In any case, despite the incomplete data, Haspelmath's (1995) criteria do not seem to be applicable for Yemsa in a straightforward way.

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) opt for a three-way distinction of 'nexus types': coordinate, subordinate and cosubordinate. Thereby they recognise the fact that chained clauses (e.g. in Papuan languages) can neither be categorised as subordinate nor as coordinate vis-a-vis their main clauses. Such a finer-grained distinction may yield clearer results for Yemsa, where some converbs are used in chaining constructions as well. The nexus types differ by the type of operator they share: whereas in subordination, only illocutionary force operators are dependent on the main clause, in co-subordination tense, illocutionary force, aspect, modality and core negation—among other properties—are shared with the main clause. Generally, coordinate clauses are independent, while cosubordinate clauses show operator dependence, and subordinate clauses are structurally dependent in that they are either arguments or modifiers of a main verb. Table 8.5 summarises the results of dependency relations of different operators in the dependent verb forms.

8. Dependent verb forms

Verb form	IF operator	Neg.	Aspect/mood
General CV	dep.	dep./indep.	dep.
CV _{DS} IPFV	indep.		dep. dep.
CV _{SEQ} SS DS	dep. dep.	indep. indep.	dep. dep.
CV _{MAN}			dep.
CV _{SIM}			dep.
CV _{IT}			dep.
CV _{NEG} DS		indep. indep.	dep.
General QCV DS			dep.
TEMP ₁ IRR ADVS		indep.	dep.
TEMP ₂	indep.	indep.	dep.
COND	indep.	indep.	dep.
NEG COND	indep.	indep.	dep.
COMP IPFV		dep.	Aspect indep. Aspect indep.
SIMIL IPFV			Aspect indep.
PURP	dep.	dep.	dep.
Long VN	dep.	dep.	dep.
NEG PURP	dep.	indep.	dep.
CONC		indep.	dep.

Table 8.5.: Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997) criteria for nexus types applied to Yemsa dependent verb forms

The gaps are due to a lack of data in natural texts, as I did not carry out elicitation for this test. Again, no clear pattern emerges. All verb forms have dependent operators. Negation is most often independent; aspect and mood are most often dependent. Thus, it appears that none of the verb forms are used in coordinate nexus relations. It also appears that in Yemsa, independent illocutionary force is possible in cosubordination, or else some forms would have to be analysed as occurring in coordinate clauses in spite of their dependent mood/aspect markers.

The different behaviour of the operators when used with different verb forms can partly be attributed to different types of juncture. Thus, the purposive and long VN forms with only dependent operators are used at the core level whereas e.g. the

different subject converb is used in clausal junctures.

General converbs may occur in different types of juncture; in nuclear juncture negation has scope over both the converb and the following main verb (ex. (8.69)), whereas in clausal juncture the main clause may be negated separately from the converb clause (ex. (8.70)).

- (8.69) *És bùur'ū-s-ō àsù àané àatt-ē hām-f-ē.*
 DEM forest-DEF-ACC.f man NEG pass.CV-M go-IPFV-3m
 'People could not pass that forest.'

- (8.70) *Hásh bǐi-r-ē bǐi-r-ē āané òomtè-f-ē.*
 now see-CV-M see-CV-M NEG hate-IPFV-3m
 'Now, having seen (our life) they do not hate us anymore.'

Generally, the identification of subordinate nexus relations is difficult since 'modification' is basically a semantic criterion, not a syntactic one. Thus, ex. (8.71) could be analysed as clausal subordination:

- (8.71) *...úuch úuch-ík nàafūn wědèy nàngirīin tòrăy sinn-ē,*
 five five-LOC.m seven or eight plougher become.CV-M
fóshāa-s-ō tòrì-f-ēn...
 field-DEF-ACC.f plough-IPFV-DS.3
 '...in groups of (lit.: being) up to five, seven or eight ploughers they plough;...'

To tentatively conclude, it seems possible to identify juncture types in Yemsa to a certain degree, but not nexus types. Following the criteria of Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), the distinctions between subordination and cosubordination and the one between cosubordination and coordination are not unambiguous. Therefore, they are not suitable e.g. to tell converbs apart from other dependent verb forms.

A larger database might lead to clearer results for both Haspelmath's (1995) and Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997) syntactic criteria. However, they might very well point in another direction, as proposed by Bickel (1998:396): 'Scope properties, for instance, may well turn out not to have to do with either interpropositional semantics or clause linkage syntax but with discourse articulation.'

8.21.3. Criterion of morphological finiteness in Yemsa

After having seen that syntactic criteria for converb definition are not applicable to Yemsa dependent verb forms, I will turn to the criterion of morphological finiteness. Here, the question is how to define 'non-finite' since the types and the number of grammatical categories vary among 'non-finite' verb forms of different languages and even within one and the same language, and the question of what can be named 'finite' or not is partly a language-internal matter.

In Yemsa, dependent verb forms in general are marked for fewer categories than functionally finite main verbs, but there are incremental differences. The form with

8. Dependent verb forms

Verb form	Person	PS	Gender	SR	Number	IPFV	PROG	MOD
CV _{NEG}	-	-	-	- (SS)	+	-	-	-
CV _{IT}	-	-	+	- (SS)	(+)	-	-	-
General CV	-	-	+	- (SS)	+	-	-	-
CV _{MAN}	-	-	+	+	(SS)	-	-	-
CV _{SEQ}	-	-	+	+	(SS)	(+)	-	-
CV _{SIM}	-	-	+	+	(SS)	+	(+)	-
CV _{DS}	-	+	-	+	(DS)	+	-	-
CV _{SEQ DS}	-	+	(+)	+	(DS)	(+)	-	-
Main verb	+	-	(+) ³⁰	-	+	(+)	(+)	(+)

Table 8.6.: Grammatical categories marked on converbs compared to the main verb

the least number of categories marked is the negative converb, while the different subject sequential converb has the highest number of categories marked. In the first instance, only one category is marked. In the second, five categories are marked. Among the quasi-converbs, the number of categories varies between zero and three.

The gradual increase of finiteness categories that are marked on dependent verb forms is shown in tables 8.6 and 8.7, where they are compared to the finite main verb. The IPFV marker is given a + value only if its meaning in the verb form in question is indeed aspectual. This is not the case with the sequential converb, the iterative converb and the conditional, where its use is lexically determined. Nor is it the case with the general quasi-converb and the temporal 1, where it marks completely different categories (cf. chapter 7 above).

From table 8.6 we can gather that there is no real difference in the number of categories marked between the main verb and the converb with the highest number of categories: The DS converb is marked for four categories; the main verb can be marked for up to five, but also fewer because gender, IPFV, PROG or MOD markers are not present with all forms. Apparently, the crucial difference between finite main verbs and converbs does not lie in the mere number but in the nature of the categories marked. First, progressive marking is only possible with finite (realis) main verbs (and in adnominal position, cf. section 8.1 above). Second, and more importantly, the type of reference marking is different, as switch-reference marking is a converbal category only, while the main verb forms resort to person marking for the same purpose of reference-tracking. Some converbs use reduced distinctions of persons like gender or person-sensitive marking. Person-sensitive marking is always combined with different subject marking; the categories could therefore be merged for counting finiteness properties. In the case of the different subject sequential converb, the comparably high number of categories marked is due to the fact that gender marking³¹ occurs in addition to

³⁰ In main verbs, gender is marked in the 3rd person of some verb forms only.

³¹ In fact, gender is marked in the 3rd person of the f-marked DS SEQ converb only, cf. section 8.4

Verb form	Person	PS	Gender	SR	Number	IPFV	PROG	MOD
Long VN	-	-	-	- (SS)	-	-	-	-
NEG COND	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
NEG PURP	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
PURP	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
CONC	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
TEMP ₂	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
COND	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
TEMP ₁ IRR	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
TEMP ₁	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
General QCV	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
COMP	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
SIMIL	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Main verb	+	-	(+)	-	+	(+)	(+)	(+)

Table 8.7.: Grammatical categories marked on quasi-converbs compared to the main verb

person-sensitive and different subject marking. As a consequence, there are three categories used for the specification of reference, compared to one—i.e. the category of person—in the main verb.

Table 8.7 shows that quasi-converbs are marked for up to three categories compared to four or five among main verb forms. Like the main verb the quasi-converbs are all marked for person, with the exception of the long verbal noun. Neither person-sensitiveness nor gender are relevant categories, and switch-reference is marked on the general quasi-converb only. Thus, the quasi-converbs are more similar to main verbs than to converbs especially in the way they are marked for the type of reference. On the other hand, they resemble converbs in that they tend not to mark aspect categories.

As an additional (functional) difference between converbs and quasi-converbs, the converbs but not the quasi-converbs are restrictive in terms of switch-reference. Whether they are marked for this category or not, they restrict the following verb to either same or different subject reference, which is not the case with the person-marked quasi-converbs (and the main verbs, for that matter).

The long verbal noun stands out probably because of its nominal nature (I recall that the other quasi-converbs are built from adnominal forms). It is neither marked for person nor for number or aspect categories, but it requires same subject reference of the following verb³².

To conclude, morphological finiteness is clearly a matter of gradual differences in

above.

³² Following Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) this is linked to its occurrence in core junctures.

8. *Dependent verb forms*

Yemsa, and according to Ebert's (MS) definition, the different converb forms conform to prototypical converbs to varying degrees. Notwithstanding, I call them all converbs because of the characteristic ways of reference type marking as described above. I am aware that this is not a solid basis for a definition since syntactic discrimination is no option either, but I chose to judge the more problematic converbs from their similarity to the more prototypical ones.

In order to distinguish converbs from quasi-converbs I take the (ad)nominal source of the latter as the main criterion. Additionally, I note that the type of reference marking is another difference, whereby the quasi-converbs conform to main verbs rather than to converbs.

9. Summary and final remarks

In this final chapter I summarise the most important findings presented in this dissertation, along with suggestions for further research. The main focus has been on the verbal system with its morphology and selected functional observations. In addition to the discovery of more verb forms, their functional description has moved a major step forward compared to previous descriptions of Yemsa grammar.

When looking at the morphological picture, Yemsa turns out to be rich in different verb forms. Special paradigms exist for four different moods (future, jussive/imperative, optative, counterfactual obligative) and three different aspects (simple, imperfective, progressive). Tense, however, is not grammaticalised. The negative paradigms come in forms that differ both from the affirmative ones and from each other in a non-systematic way. Each verb form has their specific person-marking paradigm, sometimes only minimally distinguished, but distinctive in many cases where there is no additional marker. Gender is grammaticalised in different ways and often tonally marked; plural is marked by a separate morpheme.

Particularly interesting is the consistent allocation of the verb forms to either the realis or irrealis domain, as indicated by specific sets of stem-final vowels. The morphological behaviour conforms well to semantics, as negative, non-factual and future-related forms use the irrealis stem, while factual ones use the realis stem. Exceptions are the imperfective-marked forms, which are based on the realis stem throughout, and five verb forms that are based on the bare root, i.e. they lack a stem-final vowel.

To those forms that may occur sentence-finally as main verbs, an array of dependent verb forms is added which can be subdivided into seven converbs and eleven quasi-converbs on the basis of morphology, in addition to five adnominal forms. They are used to express sometimes subtle temporal relations between events as well as typically adverbial meanings. For lack of accurate criteria I abstained from using the notions *subordinate* or *cosubordinate* in their classification. As a peculiarity vis-a-vis main verbs and quasi-converbs¹, the converbs are specified for reference of the following verb. Whether they are overtly marked for switch-reference or not, they call for either same subject or different subject reference.

Yemsa uses both switch-reference and switch-function systems for reference tracking. This leads to interesting interaction phenomena such as unexpected SS-marking when passive verbs are involved in clause-chaining. Above and beyond the syntactic function

¹ As an exception from the quasi-converbs, the general quasi-converb is marked for switch-reference, in addition to person marking.

9. Summary and final remarks

of passive marking, the passive marker has middle functions with a defined set of verbs. The semantic domains covered largely conform to those in other languages from Ethiopia and elsewhere.

An important chapter has been dedicated to the study of aspect. There are three aspects: simple, imperfective and progressive. In Johanson's (1996, 2000) terminology, Yemsa features a +/-INTRA aspect system, where imperfective (i.e. +INTRA) is the marked part of the dichotomy. Progressive is a high-focal subtype of the imperfective. Semantic markedness and higher focality correlate with morphological markedness in the aspectual system of Yemsa: whereas simple has no aspect marker, imperfective has an imperfective marker and progressive has both an imperfective and a progressive marker.

As another finding, the typology of internal phase structures along the lines of Johanson (1996, 2000) has proven crucial for the analysis of aspectual semantics in Yemsa. Generally speaking, the simple presents the states of affairs in a perspective on the whole event, while the imperfective is a low-focal +INTRA aspect with habitual meaning and the progressive is a high-focal +INTRA aspect, but this is only a broad description since the internal phase structures of the verbs interact closely with grammatical aspect. The initio-transformative, for example, is the only IPS type that allows for a high-focal use of the imperfective, in that it may adopt a view on the *cursus* as an alternative to the habitual reading. This behaviour is interpreted as an effect of a grammaticalisation process whereby the imperfective gradually becomes restricted to low-focal uses, while the progressive is reserved for higher focality. This represents a process which is already completed for the finitransformative and dynamic states of affairs.

Finally, the examination of the aspect-marked dependent verb forms reveals that aspect is by no means the only category coded by the IPFV marker *-f*. It does have aspect-related functions with the adnominal form, the simulative/complement form, the manner/simultaneous converb and the different subject converb. Non-aspectual functions of the imperfective marker include switch-reference (general quasi-converb), modality (temporal 1) and differentiation between verb forms (purposive/concessive). In other forms, its occurrence is lexically determined.

Outside the verbal domain, some basic properties of the noun phrase have been presented. Gender turns out to be marked by tone and presence of the stem vowel on nouns and adjectives, with feminine as default for inanimates. Thirteen cases have been identified and described, and the conditions of presence or absence of the definite marker are discussed.

Within the domain of phonology, the description of tone is a major issue. In word stems, it is possible to account for the three tonal levels by assuming an underlying high/low dichotomy; the occurrence of the mid tone being conditioned by regular processes. On suffixes, however, mid tones cannot be explained in a straightforward way and are thus retained in the analysis for the time being. At the stem level, depressor effects of voiced consonants lead to the emergence of low tones or account

for different reach of downstep. As a rule, downstep operates leftwards. The rising tone is analysed as a low-high combination. Although a number of tonal processes could be identified and described with the help of Snider's (1999) register tier theory, there is still a lot of work left for future researchers.

Utterance types, information structure and their interaction could not yet be studied fully, but the findings on topic and focus marking, theticity, clefting in different utterance types and attitude markers suggest these topics as particularly promising for closer examination.

It is to be hoped that the present study will shed light on properties of Yemsa that both relate it to and set it apart from the point of view of other Omotic and Ethiopian languages. In particular, it is my hope that (the presence of) this description will encourage speakers themselves to regard their unique language as worthy of use in all situations of their daily life.

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A. Texts

The texts in this appendix are from different narrators and represent different styles: a fable, two invented stories, a process description, a personal and a historical account and a blessing. Square brackets indicate portions of speech that were left unglossed because they were either repetitions or fragments (according to my informants who helped me with the transcription).

A.1. Izgin majanawa isa eetona – Nine hyenas and one lion

Narrator: Birru Rago

- (A.1.1) *Ìzgin màjà-nāwā isà éetó-nā mèrik-sè-r-ē dùpō-sī hām-è-tē.*
nine hyena.m-and.m one lion.m-and.m discuss-PL-CV-M hunt.VN-in go-PL-3POL
'Nine hyenas and one lion decided to go hunting.'

- (A.1.2) *Ìzgin màjää-s-ā-kitò ày-nā ày-nā isā¹ àbà-nī*
nine hyena.m-DEF-GEN.m-PL.m brother-and.m brother-and.m one father-GEN.m
nàangòt.
children.m
'The nine hyenas were brothers and the children of one father.'

- (A.1.3) *Hāmm-ē dùp-sè-f-ēn² [izgin] àsir mīyā dàn-è-r-ē bòojè-sé-r-ē*
go.CV-M hunt-PL-IPFV-DS.3 nine ten cow find-PL-CV-M capture-PL-CV-M
yè-sè-tē.
come.M-PL-3POL
'They went hunting and found ten cows, captured them and came back.'

- (A.1.4) *Ìzgin-ìis-ō éetó-nó-k ím-é-fāa-t bàassō izgin sin-à-nē*
nine-DEF-ACC.f lion.m-POL-LOC give-PL-SEQ.M-SS 3pPOL nine become-VN-like
isà mīyā òpp'-ē kèebèsì hām-è-tē.
one cow take.CV-M house.3POL.POSS go-PL-3POL

¹ Here and in other places a low tone at the end of a word is realised as mid according to the rule DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, described in section 2.6.3.

² The reason why the DS marker occurs here remains obscure, as there is no subject change after this converb. Yet, it is followed by a speech pause, which might indicate that the speaker did not yet know how to continue when he uttered the DS-marked converb.

A. Texts

‘They gave the nine to Lion while they, being nine, took one cow and went home.’

- (A.1.5) *Bàassō àbàa-s-ík āakkā dùpè-r-ē*
3pPOL[.POSS] father-DEF-LOC.m how hunt-CV-M
fēesh-é-tē-mātó-nāwā ò-nīn dùp-sè-tē-mātó-nā
spend.the.day-PL-3POL-like-and.m who-ACC hunt-PL-3POL-like-and.m
dùp-ō-s-sī-n dèy āw dàn-è-tē-mātó màk-sé-tē.
hunt-VN-DEF-in-ABL TOP what find-PL-3POL-like tell-PL-3POL
‘They told their father how they had spent the day hunting, whom they
were hunting and what they had got (lit.: found) from hunting.’
- (A.1.6) *Àbăa-s òdé-r-ē késs-ē “mā’ā-r-òn=tũ³ dùpè-r-à*
father-DEF hear-CV-M exit/ascend.CV-M good-NML-ADV=FOC hunt-CV-F
fēesh-é-tī-wā; sinùntánó isà wūzā mā’ā-r-òn àané
spend.the.day-PL-2p-ADR.m but one thing good-NML-ADV NEG
zàg-sò-étī.”
do-PL_{IRR}-2pNEG
‘When the father heard this, he said: “You hunted well, but one thing you
did not do well.” ’
- (A.1.7) *“Hān isà mīyāa-s-ōn tàamm-à éetó-nó-k īm-àa-t*
DEM one cow-DEF-ACC.f take.to.CV-F lion.m-POL-LOC give-SEQ.F-SS
izgìn-iis-ōn ék-ūn èpp’-à yò-sò-tì-wà”,
nine-DEF-ACC.f over.there-ABL take.CV-F come.IRR-PL_{IRR}-2p-ADR.m
yī-tē-n;
say-3POL-DS
‘Take that (one) cow, give it to Lion and take the nine (cows) from there
[and come]”, he said;’
- (A.1.8) *isà mīyāa-s-ōn èp’-è-r-ē hàmm-è-r-ē kár’-é-tē-n;*
one cow-DEF-ACC.f take-PL-CV-M go-PL-CV-M reach-PL-3POL-DS
‘they took the (one) cow and went (lit.: reached) there;’
- (A.1.9) *éetó-nó “āatē-tī-sō?” yī-r-ē màmsi-tē.*
lion.m-POL what.happen-2p-ADR_Q.m say-CV-M ask-3POL
‘Lion asked: “What happened to you?” ’
- (A.1.10) *“Īnnō àbăa-s “hān-bār-òn tàamm-à īmm-à yò-tì-wà!”*
1p[.POSS] father-DEF DEM-3f-ACC.f take.to.CV-F give.CV-F come.IRR-2p-ADR.m
yī-tē-n káll-à yà-nì-nnà⁴” yī-r-ē màk-sé-tē-n;
say-3POL-DS drive.CV-F come.F-1p-? say-CV-M tell-PL-3POL-DS

³ Sometimes a rising tone emerges instead of a mid tone where DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID applies. The conditions of this variation are not clear.

A.2. *Emsekani kani tocho – The story of Emseka's life*

‘“Our father told us: “Take this one and give it (to Lion)”, so we hurried (lit.: drove) and came”, they said;’

- (A.1.11) *“èsé dà-k mīyā-s-sī gāfk-àa-t hām-tì-wà”*
 PART ground/country-LOC.f cow-DEF-in let.go-SEQ.F-SS go-2p-ADR.m
yī-tē-n;
 say-3POL-DS
 “‘Let go of it (and put it) there among the (other) cows and go”, he said;’
- (A.1.12) *gāfk-āa-t kúshkúsh wöll-ē kèebèsi hām-è-tē*
 let.go-SEQ.M-SS empty.hand turn.CV-M house.3POL.POSS go-PL-3POL
yī-s-tē-f-à.
 say-CAUS-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘so they let go of it and went back with empty hands, it is said.’

A.2. *Emsekani kani tocho – The story of Emseka's life*

Narrator: Birru Rago

- (A.2.1) *Èmsèkà-nì kà-nì tòchō*
 E.-GEN.f life-GEN.f story
 ‘The story of Emseka's life’
- (A.2.2) *Èmsèkà àsirè-nàafùnē nèebà.*
 E. ten.and-seven.and year.3fPOSS.f
 ‘Emseka is seventeen years old.’
- (A.2.3) *Bàr àr-ū-nì kèer-ŭk àsirè-issè=tū àrì-f-à.*
 3sf learn-VN-GEN.f house_{LOC}-LOC.f ten.and-one.and=FOC learn-IPFV-3f
 ‘She is in eleventh grade (lit.: learns in eleven at school).’
- (A.2.4) *Àssùbó-nī-mèyà àkāmā-nòn bàr-òn shùn-è-tē-r.*
 teacher-GEN.m-PL_{HUM} much-ADV 3sf-ACC.f like-PL-3POL-NML
 ‘The teachers love her a lot.’
- (A.2.5) *Kèer-kī wòstō ím-té-fáa-nā-nē mǎ'-sī-r-à=tū*
 house_{LOC}-ATTR_{LOC} work give-PASS-SEQ-3-COND be.good-CAUS-CV-F=FOC
wòstè-f-à.
 work-IPFV-3f
 ‘If homework is given to her she works well.’

⁴ -*nna* seems to be a particle that has not been analysed so far.

A. Texts

- (A.2.6) *[ooma] Óomā-s-tā-n bār-òn àkāmā-nò shùn-è-tē-r.*
 other other-DEF-on-ABL 3sf-ACC.f much-ADV like-PL-3POL-NML
 ‘They like her better than the others.’
- (A.2.7) *Kèer yà-f-àná kābāa-s-ík íntō-bàa-s mǎethà’ū*
 house_{LOC} come.F-IPFV-3 time-DEF-LOC.f mother-3fPOSS.f-DEF dinner
kòot-ò-nē-k ùsā dòo’-īsī-n fùss-ē kār’-ē mār’-ē
 cook-IRR-3POL-PURP ensete hole-in-ABL take.out.CV-M cut.CV-M wring.CV-M
kássí-r-ē kābāa-s-ík bār àr-ū-nì kèer-ūn yà-nāa-sē
 bake-CV-M time-DEF-LOC.f 3sf learn-VN-GEN.f house_{LOC}-ABL come.F-3-TEMP₂
 ‘When she comes home, when her mother takes *k’och’o* out of the hole in order to cook dinner, cuts it, wrings it out and bakes it, when she (Emseka) comes from school’
- (A.2.8) *gèrègèrè mây-bàa-s-ō sòolè-r-à wòst-ō-nì mâyà*
 immediately clothes-3fPOSS.f-DEF-ACC.f change-CV-F work-VN-GEN.f clothes
mâyì.
 put.on
 ‘She changes clothes immediately and puts on working clothes.’
- (A.2.9) *Gīmā èpp’-à hāmm-à àkā kít-t-à [tè] dù-s-àa-t àppiyō*
 water.pot take.CV-F go.CV-F water haul.CV-F sit-CAUS-SEQ.F-SS bean
kàap’-è-r-à gāwā mās-s-à tè’-à bō’ā kèpp’-à kòrì-r-à
 grind-CV-F pot wash.CV-F put.on.fire.CV-F cabbage pick.CV-F divide-CV-F
bār-is-tā hāfkì-r-à shillāk’ō kàatì-r-à kīsī-n
 3sf-DEF-on cook-CV-F [dish] stir-CV-F take.down.3-DS
 ‘She takes the pot, fetches water and puts it down, then grinds beans, washes the pot, puts it on the fire, picks cabbage, prepares it, cooks it [on it], makes *shilak’o* and takes it from the fire;’
- (A.2.10) *íntō-bà sàrk’ā kó’-ē wòsh-tē-n mǎethà’ū*
 mother-3fPOSS.f ensete.bread_{POL} break_{POL}[.CV]-M serve-3POL-DS dinner
mā-s-tē-r-à kún-tē-f-à.
 eat.F-CAUS-PASS-CV-F lie.down-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘her mother breaks the *k’och’o* and serves it; dinner is eaten and one goes to sleep.’
- (A.2.11) *Ēs-bàrì bòor’à Ēmsèkā àkāmā-nò gàsàsā nàwà.*
 DEM-3sf.GEN fault E. much-ADV sensible.f girl
 ‘For that reason Emseka is a very sensible girl.’

A.3. Walattuno

Narrator: Birru Rago

- (A.3.1) *Wàlǎttū-nō gābā-nì mǎy-nì mǎy-à àané shùn-f-ē.*
 W.-POL market-GEN.f clothes-GEN.f wear-VN NEG like-IPFV-3POL
 ‘Walattu does not like wearing clothes from the market.’
- (A.3.2) *Kúshū-k=tū tìr’ō súkk-ē wàndàbō, kútā mǎy-f-ē.*
 hand-LOC.f=FOC cotton spin.CV-M [kind.of.dress] [kind.of.dress] wear-IPFV-3POL
 ‘She spins the cotton BY HAND and wears *wandabo* and *kuta*.’
- (A.3.3) *Kèer tàk-t-ō-nì mǎamā, bùllūkō kúshū-k=tū súkk-ē*
 house_{LOC} wear-PASS-VN-GEN.f clothes blanket hand-LOC.f=FOC spin.CV-M
wìchí-f-ē.
 weave.CAUS-IPFV-3POL
 ‘She (also) [spins and] weaves the clothes (to wear) in the house, the blankets BY HAND.’
- (A.3.4) *Nàanggòt-bèsi-s-ī tàkō-nòn=nū bàas kúshū-k=tū*
 children-3POL.POSS-DEF-GEN.f blanket-ACC.f=even 3sPOL hand-LOC.f=FOC
súkk-ē wìchí-f-ē.
 spin.CV-M weave.CAUS-IPFV-3POL
 ‘She even spins her children’s blanket BY HAND and has (it) woven.’
- (A.3.5) *Bàasi téegóo-s dèy tòonà hàmm-ē tìr’ō yǐssh-ē*
 3sPOL.POSS husband-DEF TOP lowlands go.CV-M cotton dig/collect.CV-M
tèsshè-tē-n=tū súk-tē-r-à mǎamā wìcchē-f-à.
 bring-3POL.DS=FOC spin-PASS-CV-F clothes weave.PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘Her husband goes to the lowlands, collects cotton and brings it back; it is spun and clothes are woven.’
- (A.3.6) *Bàassō⁵ dèy àkām àrū àsù.*
 3pPOL TOP much.m wise[m] man
 ‘They are very wise people.’
- (A.3.7) *Bàassök shól-s-ūu-s zùuttāmbàasē fà-r.*
 3pPOL.LOC want-CAUS-VN-DEF everything be.there.3f-NML
 ‘They have everything they need.’
- (A.3.8) *Wòstō-bèsi-s dèy bùlínnyá.*
 work-3POL.POSS-DEF TOP farmer.m
 ‘They work as farmers.’ (Lit.: ‘Their work is farmer.’)

⁵ Sometimes a rising tone emerges instead of a mid tone where DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID applies. The conditions of this variation are not clear.

A. Texts

- (A.3.9) *Kàwō=kàwō=tū gābā-n wàag-sè-f-ē.*
 salt=salt=FOC market-ABL buy/sell-PL-IPFV-3POL
 ‘Salt is the only thing they buy from the market.’

- (A.3.10) *Shól-s-ūu-s-ōn zùuttāmbāasē kèer-ūn=tū wòstè-r-ē*
 want-CAUS-VN-DEF-ACC.f everything house_{LOC}-ABL=FOC work-CV-M
bār-īk fè-sè-f-ē.
 3sf-LOC.f live.M-PL-IPFV-3POL
 ‘They make everything they need at (lit.: from) home and live by it.’

A.4. Keeni keer’a – House building

Narrator: Birru Rago

- (A.4.1) *Kèenì kèer’-à*
 house.GEN.f build-VN
 House building

- (A.4.2) *Zēemm-à kōdā kōd-tē-r-à, i’ō kàtè-r-à gāndè-r-à,*
 first-F work.team prepare.for.work-PASS-CV-F wood cut.PASS-CV-F fall-CV-F
dādā féz-tē-r-à hóoré-nā-nnēen òrfō
 pole split-PASS-CV-F be.ready-3-TEMP₁ after
 ‘First, the team is prepared for work, wood is felled, the poles are split, and after this is done’

- (A.4.3) *kèyà-s-īk shól-sī-f-à wūzā: dāwō*
 house-DEF-LOC.f want-CAUS-IPFV-3f thing work.team
dāw-tè-r-à, shāa’ā būuchē-r-à, gāmdū,
 prepare.for.work-PASS-CV-F grass cut.PASS-CV-F [kind.of.plant]
sūsā, wòoshà zúuttēr-à hóoré-nā-nnēen òrfō
 [string.made.of.ensete] bamboo all-F be.ready-3-TEMP₁ after
 ‘the things which are needed for the house (are prepared), this means the team is prepared for work, grass is cut, the plant strings and the bamboo are prepared, and after all is ready..’

- (A.4.4) *dāa-s bùkúcchē-r-à, dādā dād-tē-r-à,*
 ground/country-DEF clear.PASS-CV-F pole erect-PASS-CV-F
tòochō táatē-r-à, sūkā òot-tè-r-à, yèetō
 [horizontal.pieces.of.wood] tie.PASS-CV-F doorsill tie-PASS-CV-F middle.pole
kāam-tè-r-à, bāwō gāak-tè-r-à, yèetō
 sharpen-PASS-CV-F [circle.on.top.of.the.roof] fix-PASS-CV-F middle.pole
òot-tè-nā-nnēen òrfō
 tie-PASS-3-TEMP₁ after

A.5. *Ta ep'ne girune – My wedding*

‘the floor is cleared, the poles are erected, the *toocho* are tied, the doorsill is inserted, the middle pole is sharpened and the *bawo* is fixed, and after the middle pole is inserted’

- (A.4.5) *ăafā kèetè-r-à, sháa'ā kèchè-r-à, gàmālā dī-r-à, hō'ā*
 top.of.roof build.PASS-CV-F grass connect.PASS-CV-F door sit-CV-F mud
ícchē-r-à mǎat-tē-r-à dī-s-tē-f-à.
 hit.PASS-CV-F flatten-PASS-CV-F sit-CAUS-PASS-IPFV-3f
 ‘the top circle of the roof is built, the grass is put on (the roof), the door is inserted (lit.: set), mud is thrown (on the wall) and flattened, (like this the house) is set up.’

A.5. *Ta ep'ne girune – My wedding*

Narrator: Nigatu Gebresilaase

- (A.5.1) *Tà ep'-nē gírù-nē*
 my take[.VN]-and.f enter.VN-and.f
 ‘my wedding’
- (A.5.2) *Zēemm-à tá àsū èp'-à-nā-k shólé-n.*
 first-F 1s woman take-IRR-1s-PURP want-1s
 First I wanted to take a wife.
- (A.5.3) *És-tā-n kèyà kèer'in.*
 DEM-on-ABL house build.1s
 Then I built a house.
- (A.5.4) *És-tā-n késs-à dèy “Āfà nàwà tàa-s-ō èp'-à-nā?” yì-r-à*
 DEM-on-ABL after-F TOP which girl my-DEF-COP_Q take-IRR-1s say-CV-F
nīb-nàa-s-sī sàfàrén.
 heart-1sPOSS.f-DEF-in think.1s
 ‘Then I thought about which girl I should marry.’ (Lit.: ‘Then I thought in my heart: “Which girl is mine that I should take?” ’)
- (A.5.5) *“Tà àmālā-s-nēen tà fōo-s-nēen isà-r-ík hām-nīr.”*
 my character-DEF-COMIT my life-DEF-COMIT one-NML-LOC.f go-3fFUT.NML
 ‘ “She will be united (lit.: go to one) with my character and with my wealth.” ’
- (A.5.6) *“Āfà-r tàa-s-ō?” yì-r-à sàafàrè-r-à hāmm-à isà nàwà māmśin.*
 which-NML my-DEF-COP_Q say-CV-F think-CV-F go.CV-F one girl ask.1s
 ‘ “Which one is mine?” I thought and went and asked a girl.’

A. Texts

- (A.5.7) *Màmsi-nā*, “*Gārō wònà fàar-à=tù nè-k mǎlsī*
ask-DS.1s little time count.CV-F=FOC 2s-LOC answer[AMH]
wōlg-ū-nā-wà” *yī-n*; *tá dèy gārō wònà òodīn*.
return-IRR-1s-ADR.m say.3-DS 1s TOP little time wait.1s
‘I asked, and she told me: “After some time I will give you an answer.” So
I waited for some time.’
- (A.5.8) *Òod-nā éstān bàr dèy yà-r-à tàk mǎlsī īmī-n*; *wòl*
wait-DS.1s then 3f TOP come-CV-F 1s-LOC answer[AMH] give.3-DS REC
sàafārā-nì isà-r sinī-n; *éstān kūr’ù-nī wòsīn*.
idea-1pPOSS one-NML become.3-DS then elder.m-ACC.m send.1s
‘I waited, then she came to me and gave me the answer; our ideas were the
same and I sent the elders (to her father).’
- (A.5.9) *Kūr’ù-nī wòsī-r-à bàrì kèer-kì bèetèsébī-s-īk*
elder.m-ACC.m send-CV-F 3sfPOSS house_{LOC}-ATTR_{LOC} family[AMH]-DEF-LOC.f
àssī-r-ā⁶ *[pause]* *éstān kūr’ūu-s wòllè-r-ē chōwāa-s-ō*
learn.CAUS-CV-F then elder.m-DEF talk-CV-M thing-DEF-ACC.f
zúutīr-ē kò’ì-sì-nā-nnēen hànkalō
all-M finish-CAUS-3-TEMP₁ after
‘I sent the elders and introduced them to her family, and... then the elders
talked and after they had finished’
- (A.5.10) *és-bàrì bèetèsébī-s-īk shól-sí wūzā, t’īlōshī*
that-3sfPOSS family[AMH]-DEF-LOC.f want-CAUS thing bride.price[AMH]
yī-s-tē-n fà-r, és-bàr-òn īmm-à éstān
say-CAUS-PASS.3-DS be.there.3f-NML DEM-3sf-ACC.f give.CV-F then
sárgī-nì wònà dù-sì-r-à mizé
wedding-GEN.f day sit-CAUS-CV-F best.man[AMH]
yī-s-té-f-ē-r⁷ fě-r.
say-CAUS-PASS-IPFV-3m-NML be.there.3m-NML
‘the needed things for that family, which are called *t’īlōshi*, I gave them (to
them), then I set the wedding day and the best man was nominated.’
- (A.5.11) *És-bár dèy nàwāa-s-īk shól-sū: mǎamāa-s-ōn èpp’-ē*
DEM-3sm TOP girl-DEF-LOC.f want-CAUS.VN clothes-DEF-ACC.f take.CV-M
tàamm-ē wàalīn bàrì kóon fè-nāa-s-tā, bàrì àbà
take.to.CV-M at.night 3sfPOSS relative.m be.there.M-3-DEF-on 3sfPOSS father

⁶ On this verb, DS-marking would be expected because of the subject change from the 1st person to *kūr’ūu* ‘elders’. The reason for the occurrence of a SS-marked converb could be that the narrator was not sure how to proceed with the sentence, as indicated by the break in his speech at this point.

⁷ The initial low tone is changed to mid according to the process ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID described in section 2.6.3.

A.6. Ibe boza ekkatu sinfa – About slaves in former times

fè-nàa-s-tā, intō fà-nàa-s-tā, àyí, èetíi
 be.there.M-3-DEF-on mother be.there.F-3-DEF-on brother.DEF sister.DEF
fà-nàa-s-tā, és máamāa-s-ō fàadi-f-ē.
 be.there.F-3-DEF-on DEM clothes-DEF-ACC.f count-IPFV-3m

‘He (the best man) takes what is wanted: the clothes needed for the girl (to her) and the night (before the wedding) he counts the clothes which are there for the girl’s relatives, her father, mother, the brother(s), the sister(s).’⁸

(A.5.12) *Fàadi-r-ē imī-n bàassò kúshé-r-ē mā’ar yì-sé-r-ē*
 count-CV-M give.3-DS 3pPOL take_{POL}-CV-M good say-PL-CV-M
kúshé-tē-nnēen hānkālō wònòtìrì-k sárgī sìn-f-à.
 take_{POL}-3POL-TEMP₁ after next.morning-LOC.f wedding become-IPFV-3f

‘He counts and gives them (to the girl’s best men), they take them and agree, and after they have taken them the wedding takes place the next day.’

(A.5.13) *Éstān innò wònòtìrì-k hàmm-à nàwàa-s-ō èpp’-à*
 then 1p next.morning-LOC.f go.CV-F girl-DEF-ACC.f take.CV-F
yà-f-èni.
 come.F-IPFV-1p

‘Then the next day we go and bring the girl (lit.: take the girl and come).’

A.6. Ibe boza ekkatu sinfa – About slaves in former times

Narrator: Aba Jamal Foogi

Audience: Nigatu Gebresilaase (AUD)

(A.6.1) *Ībē bōzā èkkā=tū sìn-f-à.*
 in.the.past slave like.this=FOC become-IPFV-3f

‘With the slaves, it used to be like this.’

(A.6.2) *Bōzā hásh wàagé àsūu-s kách’ē-bā āa-fá⁹.*
 slave now buy/sell man.m-DEF clan-3mPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f

‘The slave-traders’ clan is not there anymore.’

⁸ Here, the narrator changes from the simple aspect with past perfective meaning to the imperfective with habitual meaning.

⁹ The process that changes the first tone of the negative existential verb from low to mid is ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, described in section 2.6.3.

A. Texts

- (A.6.3) *És bōzāa-s-ō hān dāa-s-tā-n [...]* (èp'-āafē)
 DEM slave-DEF-ACC.f DEM ground/country-DEF-on-ABL take-IT.M
wàagè-f-ē bār hásh kách'ē-bā āa-fá.
 buy/sell-IPFV-3m 3sm now clan-3mPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 'Now the clan of those (lit.: the one) who (used to kidnap and) sell the slaves from this country is not there anymore.'
- (A.6.4) AUD: *Èp'-āafē wàagè-f-ē bār*
 take-IT.M buy/sell-IPFV-3m 3sm
 'those (lit.: the one) who kidnap and sell'
- (A.6.5) *Hásh kò'ì.*
 now finish
 'Now they have ceased to exist.' (Lit.: 'Now it/he finished.')
- (A.6.6) *És wàagè-f-ē àsũ [pause] hān bùkùn [bùkùn] bōkō bùur'ũ*
 DEM buy/sell-IPFV-3m man.DEF DEM B. scatter forest
fà-r-tá-nó?
 be.there.3f-NML-NEG.f-Q
 'Those traders... Isn't there that scattered forest called *Bukun*?'
- (A.6.7) *És bùur'ũ-s-ō àsù àané àatt-ē hām-f-ē.*
 DEM forest-DEF-ACC.f man NEG pass.CV-M go-IPFV-3m
 'Men could not pass that forest.'
- (A.6.8) *Yèm àané àatt-ē hām-f-ē.*
 Y. NEG pass.CV-M go-IPFV-3m
 'Yem (men) could not pass.'
- (A.6.9) *Hèpè-r-ē kèzè-r-ē àchēech úuch sìn-à àsũ-tōnò...*
 be.two-CV-M be.three-CV-M four five become-IRR man.m.DEF-but.m
 'But if they were (in a group of) two, three, four or five men...'
- (A.6.10) *Shòwè-fāa-nā-nē-tánó...*
 be.many-SEQ-3-COND-but.f
 'But if they were many...'
- (A.6.11) *Ìsā àsù àané àatt-ē hām-f-ē.*
 one man NEG pass.CV-M go-IPFV-3m
 'One man could not pass.'
- (A.6.12) *Bàassò zālālāmī òodd-ē dì-sé-tē-r.*
 3pPOL eternity[AMH] wait.CV-M sit-PL-3POL-NML
 'They used to wait there all the time.' (lit.: eternally)

A.6. *Ibe boza ekkatu sinfa – About slaves in former times*

- (A.6.13) AUD: *Óomā wòst-ō-bèsì àa-fá-nó?*
 other.f work-VN-3POL.POSS NEG-be.there.3f-Q
 ‘Didn’t they have other work?’
- (A.6.14) *Óomā wòst-ō-bèsì àa-fá.*
 other.f work-VN-3POL.POSS NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘They didn’t have other work.’
- (A.6.15) *Bǒzzī nàggàddé āw-nì wòst-ō!*
 slave.GEN.m trader[AMH] what-GEN work-VN
 ‘Slave trader, what a job!’
- (A.6.16) *Wòst-ō-bā āa-fá.*
 work-VN-3mPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘They didn’t have work.’
- (A.6.17) *Òodd-ē dī-r.*
 wait.CV-M sit.m-NML
 ‘They sat there waiting.’
- (A.6.18) *És òodd-ē dī-f-ēnā kābāa-s-īk isà-r bès-tè-fāa-nā-nē*
 DEM wait.CV-M sit-IPFV-3m time-DEF-LOC.f one-NML show-PASS-SEQ-3-COND
és-bār-òn òp’-ē hām-ā¹⁰.
 DEM-3sf-ACC.f take[.CV]-M go-VN?
 ‘Waiting like this, if one (person) showed up, they took him/her and went away.’
- (A.6.19) *Hèp bès-tè-fāa-nā-nē òp’-ē hām-à.*
 two show-PASS-SEQ-3-COND take[.CV] go-VN?
 ‘If two (persons) showed up, they took them and went away.’
- (A.6.20) *Kèez-è-r-à àchèech-é-fāa-nā-nē āané òp’-f-ē.*
 be.three-PL-CV-F be.four-PL-SEQ-3-COND NEG take-IPFV-3m
 ‘If they were three or four they didn’t take them.’
- (A.6.21) AUD: *Sháak-fāa-t bí-r-ē¹¹ àat-à-nā.*
 be.silent-SEQ.M-SS see-CV-M stay-IRR-3
 ‘They silently stayed there watching.’

¹⁰ This uninflected form could be a verbal noun or an irrealis stem. Either of them would be unusual as final main verb.

¹¹ The high tone at the beginning of *būrē* is a simplified rising tone, following the rule SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH described in section 2.6.3.

A. Texts

- (A.6.22) *Sháak-fáa-t búi-r-ē àat-à-nā.*
 be.silent-SEQ.M-SS see-CV-M stay-IRR-3
 ‘They silently stayed there watching.’
- (A.6.23) *Àaché-r-ē=tū dī-f-ē.*
 hide-CV-M=FOC sit-IPFV-3m
 ‘They used to hide.’
- (A.6.24) *És[é] àaché-r-ē dī àsũu-s[ĩ] hêp kèez-ìs-ō èp'-ē=tū*
 DEM hide-CV-M sit man.m-DEF two three-DEF-ACC.f take[.CV]-M=FOC
hàm-f-ē.
 go-IPFV-3m
 ‘Those hiding men took the two or three and went away.’
- (A.6.25) *Àt'k'ā àsù hēbō-bā èpp'-ē àtū-bā-sī kōyū*
 male man spear-3mPOSS.f take.CV-M body-3mPOSS.f-in be.dry.VN
sìn-fāa-nā-nē és-bár-īn¹² búi-r-ē=tū àat-ù-nā.
 become-SEQ-3-COND DEM-3sm-ACC.m see-CV-M=FOC let.pass-IRR-3
 ‘If it was a strong man with his spear (who came by) they would see him and let him pass.’ (Lit.: ‘If a man had taken his spear and there was dryness in his body...’)
- (A.6.26) AUD: *Ìsā àsù=nū sìn-f-ēnà-k.*
 one man=even become-f-3m-CONC
 ‘Even if it was one person.’
- (A.6.27) *Ìsā àsù=nū sìn-f-ēnà-k.*
 one man=even become-IPFV-3m-CONC
 ‘Even if it was one person.’
- (A.6.28) *És-bár kējā.*
 DEM-3sm spear.3mPOSS.f
 ‘He had a spear.’¹³
- (A.6.29) AUD: *kējā*
 spear.3mPOSS.f
 ‘his spear’

¹² In the pronominal form *és-bár(-īn)* ‘that one (m.)’ the rule SIMPLIFICATION OF RISING AFTER HIGH (cf. section 2.6.3) applies, which would point to a two-word analysis. However, the one-word analysis was retained because no speech pause may intervene between the demonstrative *és* and the pronoun *bār*.

¹³ The translation of this sentence is not entirely clear: To express possession, an existential verb is normally added (e.g. *fār 3sf*).

A.6. *Ibe boza ekkatu sinfa – About slaves in former times*

- (A.6.30) *Kèjbā. B̄i-r-ē=tū àat-ù-nā.*
 spear.3mPOSS.f see-CV-M=FOC let.pass-IRR-3
 ‘His spear. They would see him and let him pass.’
- (A.6.31) *Ésséen àwjà wūzā sìn-fāa-nā-nē¹⁴ és-bār-òn*
 DEM.COMIT weak thing become-SEQ-3-COND DEM-3sf-ACC.f
àat-ù-nā-wūzbà àa-fá.
 let.pass-IRR-FUT-thing.3fPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘If there was a weak person (lit.: thing) (passing by) they would not let him/her pass.’
- (A.6.32) *Éksé-r-ē bùur’ū-s-sī girì-nā-nnēen òp’-ē=tū hām-à-nā.*
 move.off-CV-M forest-DEF-in enter-3-TEMP₁ take[.CV]-M=FOC go-IRR-3
 ‘When he would move off and enter the forest they would take him and go away.’
- (A.6.33) AUD: *[ēse] g̃iidō-bā fè-nà b̄ār āané*
 PART strength[ORO]-3mPOSS.f be.there.M-3 3sm NEG
wàag-tè-f-ē-wà ēse.
 buy/sell-PASS-IPFV-3m-ADR.m PART
 ‘A strong man (lit.: a man with strength) was not sold then.’
- (A.6.34) *Āané wàag-tè-f-ē. Āané wàag-tè-f-ē.*
 NEG buy/sell-PASS-IPFV-3m NEG buy/sell-PASS-IPFV-3m
 ‘He was not sold. He was not sold.’
- (A.6.35) *És-bār hāmm-ē Àbbàltí-néen=nú kár’á-r.*
 DEM-3sm go.CV-M A.-COMIT=even reach.m-NML
 ‘He would even reach Abelti.’
- (A.6.36) AUD: *B̄ār b̄āak tèt-bā-k kùtī-r.*
 3sm 3sm.LOC head-3mPOSS.f-LOC.f walk.m-NML
 ‘He would walk all by himself (lit.: on/with his head).’
- (A.6.37) *Ī, tèt-bā-k kùtī-r.*
 yes head-3mPOSS.f-LOC.f walk.m-NML
 ‘Yes, he would walk all by himself.’
- (A.6.38) *Hām-ā¹⁵ àsū Àbbàltí-néen àatt-ē kár’á-r.*
 go-VN? man.m.DEF A.-COMIT pass.CV-M reach.m-NML
 ‘The man who went could reach Abelti.’

¹⁴ The rising tone on the second syllable of *sìn-fāa-nā-nē* results from the application of RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE, described in section 2.6.3.

A. Texts

- (A.6.39) *Ésséen gǐdō-bā hòp'ì-nā àsũ āané hām-f-ē.*
 DEM.COMIT strength[ORO]-3mPOSS.f be.tired-3 man.m.DEF NEG go-IPFV-3m
 ‘A weak man (lit.: the man whose strength was tired) did not go (there).’
- (A.6.40) *És kābāa-s-ik āané hām-f-ē.*
 DEM time-DEF-LOC.f.f NEG go-IPFV-3m
 ‘At that time he could not go (there).’
- (A.6.41) *És-ēffē àsù fē-r.*
 DEM-like man be.there.3m-NML
 ‘There were people like this (who could pass).’
- (A.6.42) *És àsũu-s-ā kách'ē=nū, wāagē àsũ, hásh isánné*
 DEM man-DEF-GEN.m clan=even buy/sell man.m.DEF now nobody
ǎa-fē.
 NEG-be.there.3m
 ‘(Of) That man’s clan, the trader’s, no one is left.’
- (A.6.43) AUD: *Kìtì-r-ē kò'ì.*
 die-CV-M finish
 ‘They (all) died.’
- (A.6.44) *Kìtì-r-ē kò'ì. Hásh ǎa-fē.*
 die-CV-M finish now NEG-be.there.3m
 ‘They (all) died. Now they are not there (anymore).’
- [...]
- (A.6.45) *Hásh àsù-nī wāagè-r-ē mě àsù zālbā kò'ì.*
 now man-ACC.m buy/sell-CV-M eat man seed.3mPOSS.f finish
 ‘Now there is no offspring of those men who sell and eat men anymore.’
 (lit.: his seed is finished)
- (A.6.46) AUD: *Tāamm-ē āy-mbà wāagè-f-ēnà?*
 take.to.CV-M where-FOC_Q buy/sell-IPFV-3m
 ‘Where did they take (the slaves) to sell them?’
- (A.6.47) *Gàalō-s-kī=tū wāagè-f-ē-wà.*
 Oromo.m-DEF-at=FOC buy/sell-IPFV-3m-ADR.m
 ‘They sold them to the Oromo.’
- (A.6.48) AUD: *Gàalō-s-kī-n èp'-ē óomā dīmā wāagè-f-ē-r*
 Oromo.m-DEF-at=ABL take[.CV]-M other.f place buy/sell-IPFV-3m-NML
ǎa-fē-nò? [Gàalō sìn-fāa-t...]
 NEG-be.there.3m-Q Oromo.m become-SEQ.M-SS

¹⁵ The use of a verbal noun or an uninflected irrealis verb is unusual in adnominal position.

A.6. *Ibe boza ekkatu sinfa – About slaves in former times*

‘Wasn’t there anybody who took them from the Oromo and sold them to other places?’

- (A.6.49) *Gàalǝ-s-kī-n èp’-ē óomā dīmā wàagè-f-ē ká.*
 Oromo.m-DEF-at-ABL take[.CV]-M other.f place buy/sell-IPFV-3m PART
 ‘Of course they took them from the Oromo and sold them elsewhere.’
- (A.6.50) AUD: *Wàagè-f-ē dèy...*
 buy/sell-IPFV-3m TOP
 ‘They sold (them)...’
- (A.6.51) *Īi, nàgǎddē, nàgàdānnyā-wà.*
 yes trader[AMH] trader-ADR.m
 ‘Yes, (they were) traders.’
- (A.6.52) *Īnnō Yèm-ìs=tū nàgàdè-f-ē-r-wā.*
 1p Yem-DEF=FOC trade-IPFV-3m-NML-ADR.m
 ‘It was us, the Yem, who traded (slaves).’
- (A.6.53) *Óom nàgàdè-f-ē àsù ǎa-fē-wà.*
 other.m trade-IPFV-3m man NEG-be.there.3m-ADR.m
 ‘There weren’t any other traders.’
- (A.6.54) *Yèm-ìs=tū Yèm-ìs-ī wōlgī-r-ē wàagě-r-wā.*
 Yem-DEF=FOC Yem-DEF-ACC.m return-CV-M buy/sell.m-NML-ADR.m
 ‘It was the Yem themselves who (in turn) sold the Yem.’
- (A.6.55) *Ībētī t’íntī-nī t’íntī-nī kābāa-s-īk... Yèm-ìs=tū*
 long.ago earlier.times-GEN.f earlier.times-GEN.f time-DEF-LOC.f Yem-DEF=FOC
Yèm-ìis-īn wàagě-r-wā.
 Yem-DEF-ACC.m buy/sell.m-NML-ADR.m
 ‘Long long time ago... It was the Yem who sold the Yem.’
- (A.6.56) *És wàagē¹⁶ àsūu-s-ā kách’ē hásh āa-fá-wā.*
 DEM buy/sell man-DEF-GEN.m clan now NEG-be.there.3f-ADR.m
 ‘That (slave) trading clan is not there anymore.’
- (A.6.57) *És-īs àsū-nī wàag-ō.*
 DEM-DEF man-GEN.m buy/sell-VN
 ‘This is it about man trade.’

¹⁶ The last syllable of *wàagē* carries mid tone instead of low according to the rule DISSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID described in section 2.6.3.

A. Texts

- (A.6.58) AUD: *Àsù-nī wàag-ō-nì chōwā és-īs.*
 man-GEN.m buy/sell-VN-GEN.f matter DEM-DEF
 ‘This is it about the matter of man trade.’
- (A.6.59) *Àsù-nī wàag-ō-nì chōwā*
 man-GEN.m buy/sell-VN-GEN.f matter
 ‘The matter of man trade’
- (A.6.60) *Mīyāa-s=nū és àsù-ník wàag-tē bàr.*
 cow-DEF=even DEM man-LOC.m buy/sell-PASS 3sf
 ‘Even the cows were sold (lit.: sold ones) to those people.’
- (A.6.61) *Kách’ē-bà àa-fá.*
 clan-3fPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f
 ‘Their clan doesn’t exist (anymore).’
- (A.6.62) *Mīyāa-s=nū kách’ē-bà kò’ì.*
 cow-DEF=even clan-3fPOSS.f finish
 ‘Even the cow’s clan doesn’t exist (anymore).’
- (A.6.63) AUD: *Mīyā-s-ōn dèy èpp’-ē wàagě-r=nō?*
 cow-DEF-ACC.f TOP take.CV-M buy/sell.m-NML-COP_Q
 ‘So they also took cows and sold them?’
- (A.6.64) *Mīyā-s-ōn féesh-dīmā yērēe-s-ōn èpp’-ē*
 cow-DEF-ACC.f spend.the.day-place stand-DEF-ACC.f take.CV-M
wàagě-r-wā.
 buy/sell.m-NML-ADR.m
 ‘They took the cows from the pasture (lit.: those standing on the pasture) and sold them.’
- (A.6.65) AUD: *Hásh-tí àsù-nī (èpp’-ē) wàagè-f-ē bàassò=nò?*
 now-ATTR_{TEMP} man-GEN.m take.CV-M buy/sell-IPFV-3m 3pPOL=COP_Q
 ‘Were they those slave traders?’
- (A.6.66) *Mm, wàagè-f-ē bàassò.*
 yes buy/sell-IPFV-3m 3pPOL
 ‘Yes, the traders.’
- (A.6.67) *És mīyāa-s=nū kách’ē-bà àa-fá-wā.*
 DEM cow-DEF=even clan-3fPOSS.f NEG-be.there.3f-ADR.m
 ‘Even that cow’s clan doesn’t exist (anymore).’

[...]

A.7. A Blessing

Narrator: Aba Jamal Foogi

- (A.7.1) *Tàk ím-tā túshāa mǎnggǐstī nè-k īm-àw-ng-wè.*
 1s.LOC give-2s injera.DEF government[AMH] 2s-LOC give-OPT-3-ADR.f
 ‘May the government give you the injera you gave me.’
- (A.7.2) *Hā’ō nè-k hān yà-tā òchō-nèe-s-ī wàagà-nò,*
 God 2s-LOC DEM come.F-2s foot-2sPOSS-DEF-GEN.f price-ACC.f
 ‘The cost of coming here on your feet,’ (lit.: the price of your foot that you came)
- (A.7.3) *hān ně ím-tā kúshū-nèe-s-ī wàagà-nò,*
 DEM 2s give-2s hand-2sPOSS-DEF-GEN.f price-ACC.f
 ‘the cost of what you gave with your hands,’ (lit.: the price of your hand that you gave)
- (A.7.4) *Hā’ō nè-k kàas-àw-ng-wè.*
 God 2s-LOC pay-OPT-3-ADR.f
 ‘may God pay it (back) to you.’
- (A.7.5) *Hā’ō nè-k kàas-àw-ng-wè.*
 God 2s-LOC pay-OPT-3-ADR.f
 ‘May God pay it (back) to you.’
- (A.7.6) *Ně hēp kúshū-nèe-s-ik=tú¹⁷ īm-ìt-ùwè.*
 2s two hand-2sPOSS-DEF-LOC.f=FOC give-2s-ADR.f
 ‘You gave with both hands.’
- (A.7.7) *Hēp kúshū-bàa-s-ik Hā’ō nè-k īm-àw-ng-wè.*
 two hand-3fPOSS.f-DEF-LOC.f God 2s-LOC give-OPT-3-ADR.f
 ‘May God give you with both hands.’
- (A.7.8) *Hásh-háyé wàlittī ùp’-ò-nī wūzā Hā’ō innǒk dèy*
 now-now together[ORO] meet-IRR-1p thing God 1p.LOC TOP
nàgāa-s-ō īmm-à,
 peace-DEF-ACC.f give.CV-F
 ‘May God give us peace to meet each other again,’¹⁸

¹⁷ The tones of the last two syllables of *kúshū-nèe-s-ik=tú* result from the application of RIGHTWARD SPREAD OF TONE (cf. section 2.6.3), according to which the high tone from the rising *-ik* (LOC.f) spreads to the right onto the toneless focus marker *=tu* and is delinked from the locative suffix.

¹⁸ The translation of this sentence is not entirely clear.

A. Texts

- (A.7.9) *wàlittī nàgā-n yìir'-tī-wā, Hā'ō innōk*
 together[ORO] peace[ORO]-ABL make.bed-2sEND-ADR.m God 1p.LOC
īm-àw-ng-wè.
 give-OPT-3-ADR.f
 'may God give us to spread our bed from peace.'
- (A.7.10) *Dìch-fāw-tì.*
 grow-OPT-2END
 'May you grow.'
- (A.7.11) *Hā'ō nǐ-tī dīch-àw-ng.*
 God 2sEND-ACC grow[.CAUS]-OPT-3
 'May God let you grow.'
- (A.7.12) *Mànggǐstī-nì túshāa-s-tā Hā'ō nǐ-tī*
 government[AMH]-GEN.f injera-DEF-on God 2sEND-ACC
kāk'āb-s-āw-ng.
 reach[ORO]-CAUS-OPT-3
 'May God add you to (the people who eat) the government's injera.'
- (A.7.13) *Nǐ-tī mǎnggǐstī-s-tā.*
 2sEND-ACC government-DEF-on
 'You on the government.'
- (A.7.14) *Hásh fùtō-nì wòllàa-s-īk yó-nā.*
 now truth-GEN.f speech-DEF-LOC.f come.IRR-3
 'Now she will come to true speech.'¹⁹
- (A.7.15) *Yà-fāa-nì fùtō-nì wòllàa-s-ōn mǎkōn.*
 come.F-SEQ-2sEND.DS truth-GEN.f speech-DEF-ACC.f tell.IRR.3fJUSS
 'You shall come and then she shall tell you the truth.'
- (A.7.16) *Fùtō-nì wòllàa-s-ōn mākó-nā.*
 truth-GEN.f speech-DEF-ACC.f tell.IRR-3
 'She will tell you the truth.'
- (A.7.17) *Yōonò yǒ-tī. Féesh-á-tī-tá.*
 day.after.tomorrow come.IRR-2sEND spend.time-IRR-2sEND-PROH
Yǒ-tī. Yǒ-tī.
 come.IRR-2sEND come.IRR-2sEND
 'Come soon. Do not stay away. Come. Come.'

¹⁹ The translation of this and the next two sentences remains unclear. *yō-nā* (ex. (A.7.14)) and *mākó-nā* (ex. (A.7.16)) could also refer to the first person. The 3rd person feminine was chosen to conform to ex. (A.7.15) and because after the elder's it would be his wife's turn to give her blessing.

A.7. A Blessing

- (A.7.18) *Tá dèy [...]* *àrì-nā-ys-ōn* *mākó-nā.*
1s TOP know-1s-DEF-ACC.f tell.IRR-3
'Me too, I will tell you what I know.'
- (A.7.19) *És wònàa-s-tā Hā'ō innò-tī nàgā-k kát-àw-ng.*
DEM day-DEF-on God 1p-ACC peace[ORO]-LOC.f reach.CAUS-OPT-3
'On that day, may God bring us together in peace.'
- (A.7.20) *És-īi hóor-ó-nā.*
DEM-DEF be.ready-IRR-3FUT
'This is it, I will be finished.'

B. Verbal paradigms

In this appendix example paradigms of an a-class and an o- or u-class verb are provided in order to facilitate comparison between the verb classes and the different verb forms. O- and u-class verbs behave the same way except for the quality of the stem vowel: o-class has -e in the realis and -o in the irrealis, u-class has -i in the realis and -u in the irrealis. Note that the paradigms are representative of morphological classes only, not tonal ones. The verbs provided belong to the L class because I did not elicit full paradigms of all morphological and tonal classes.

In the 2nd person plural the variant without the plural suffix was chosen, which is identical to the endearment form of the 2nd person singular.

The forms are sorted by distinguishing between realis vs. irrealis stems, and by their use in main vs. dependent clauses. Forms that cannot be attributed to either realis or irrealis because of their lack of a stem vowel (i.e. optative, counterfactual obligative, sequential and iterative converbs and conditional) are listed among the realis forms so that they can be directly compared to their f-marked realis counterparts.

Full paradigms of the imperfective complement form and the f-marked temporal 2 are missing in the data.

For the paradigms of the irregular verbs refer to appendix C.

B.1. Main verb forms, realis

Simple		
	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokĩn</i>	<i>dùudě̃n</i>
2s	<i>sòokĩt</i>	<i>dùudě̃t</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknĩ</i>	<i>dùudě̃nĩ</i>
3s	<i>sòokì</i>	<i>dùudè</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktē</i>	<i>dùudètē</i>
1p	<i>sòoknĩ</i>	<i>dùudě̃nĩ</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoktĩ</i>	<i>dùudětĩ</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokènĩ</i>	<i>dùudèsénĩ</i>
3pf	<i>sòokè</i>	<i>dùudèsé</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokètē</i>	<i>dùudèsétē</i>

B. Verbal paradigms

The 3rd person simple forms are also used adnominally if the subject is coreferent with its head noun.

Nominalised simple

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknār</i>	<i>dùudènār</i>
2s	<i>sòoktār</i>	<i>dùudètār</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknīr</i>	<i>dùudènīr</i>
3sf	<i>sòokār</i>	<i>dùudēr</i>
3sm	<i>sòokār</i>	<i>dùudēr</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktēr</i>	<i>dùudètēr</i>
1p	<i>sòoknīr</i>	<i>dùudènīr</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoktīr</i>	<i>dùudètīr</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokènīr</i>	<i>dùudèsénīr</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèr</i>	<i>dùudèsēr</i>
3pm	<i>sòokēr</i>	<i>dùudèsér</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokètēr</i>	<i>dùudèsétēr</i>

Imperfective

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfàn</i>	<i>dùudèfàn</i>
2s	<i>sòokfàt</i>	<i>dùudèfàt</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfèni</i>	<i>dùudèfèni</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfà</i>	<i>dùudèfà</i>
3sm/POL	<i>sòokfē</i>	<i>dùudèfē</i>
1p	<i>sòokfèni</i>	<i>dùudèfèni</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfètì</i>	<i>dùudèfètì</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfèni</i>	<i>dùudèsèfèni</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèfà</i>	<i>dùudèsèfà</i>
3pm/POL	<i>sòokèfē</i>	<i>dùudèséfē</i>

The 3rd person imperfective forms are also used adnominally if the subject is coreferent with its head noun.

Negated imperfective

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfàt</i>	<i>dùudéfàt</i>
2s	<i>sòokfè</i>	<i>dùudéfè</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfènī</i>	<i>dùudéfènī</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfà</i>	<i>dùudéfà</i>
3sm/POL	<i>sòokfē</i>	<i>dùudéfē</i>
1p	<i>sòokfènī</i>	<i>dùudéfènī</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfètī</i>	<i>dùudéfètī</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfènī</i>	<i>dùudèséfènī</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèfà</i>	<i>dùudèséfà</i>
3pm/POL	<i>sòokèfē</i>	<i>dùudèséfē</i>

The negated imperfective forms are preceded by *àané*.

(Nominalised) progressive

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokdīfàn(àr)</i>	<i>dùudèdīfàn(àr)</i>
2s	<i>sòokdīfàt(àr)</i>	<i>dùudèdīfàt(àr)</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokdīfènì(r)</i>	<i>dùudèdīfènì(r)</i>
3sf	<i>sòokdīfà(r)</i>	<i>dùudèdīfà(r)</i>
3sm/POL	<i>sòokdīfē(r)</i>	<i>dùudèdīfē(r)</i>
1p	<i>sòokdīfènì(r)</i>	<i>dùudèdīfènì(r)</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokdīfètì(r)</i>	<i>dùudèdīfètì(r)</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèdīfènì(r)</i>	<i>dùudèsédīfènì(r)</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèdīfà(r)</i>	<i>dùudèsédīfà(r)</i>
3pm/POL	<i>sòokèdīfē(r)</i>	<i>dùudèsédīfē(r)</i>

The 3rd person non-nominalised progressive forms are also used adnominally if the subject is coreferent with its head noun.

B. Verbal paradigms

Negative nominalised progressive

	a-class	o-class
	sòokà 'light'	dùudō 'try, practise'
1s	sòokdīfànàrtá	dùudèdīfànàrtá
2s	sòokdīfàtàrtá	dùudèdīfàtàrtá
2sPOL	sòokdīfènìrtá	dùudèdīfènìrtá
3sf	sòokdīfàrtá	dùudèdīfàrtá
3sm	sòokdīfèrtè	dùudèdīfèrtè
3sPOL	sòokdīfèrtá	dùudèdīfèrtá
1p	sòokdīfènìrtá	dùudèdīfènìrtá
2p/END	sòokdīfètìrtá	dùudèdīfètìrtá
2pPOL	sòokèdīfènìrtá	dùudèsèdīfènìrtá
3pf	sòokèdīfàrtá	dùudèsèdīfàrtá
3pm	sòokèdīfèrtè	dùudèsèdīfèrtè
3pPOL	sòokèdīfèrtá	dùudèsèdīfèrtá

Optative

	a-class	o-class
	sòokà 'light'	dùudō 'try, practise'
1s	sòokàwnà	dùudàwnà
2s	sòokây	dùudây
2POL	sòokàwnì	dùudàwnì
3	sòokàwng	dùudàwng
3POL	sòokāwtō	dùudāwtō
1p	sòokàwnì	dùudàwnì
2p/END	sòokāwtì	dùudāwtì

Optative, f-marked

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfāwnà</i>	<i>dùudéfāwnà</i>
2s	<i>sòokfāy</i>	<i>dùudéfāy</i>
2POL	<i>sòokfāwnì</i>	<i>dùudéfāwnì</i>
3	<i>sòokfāwng</i>	<i>dùudéfāwng</i>
3POL	<i>sòokfāwtó</i>	<i>dùudéfāwtó</i>
1p	<i>sòokfāwnì</i>	<i>dùudéfāwnì</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfāwtì</i>	<i>dùudéfāwtì</i>
2POL	<i>sòokèfāwnì</i>	<i>dùudèséfāwnì</i>
3	<i>sòokèfāwng</i>	<i>dùudèséfāwng</i>
3POL	<i>sòokèfāwtó</i>	<i>dùudèséfāwtó</i>

Counterfactual obligative

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokàwkēnà</i>	<i>dùudàwkēnà</i>
2s	<i>sòokàwkè</i>	<i>dùudàwkè</i>
2POL	<i>sòokàwkēnì</i>	<i>dùudàwkēnì</i>
3f	<i>sòokàwngkà</i>	<i>dùudàwngkà</i>
3m	<i>sòokāwkè</i>	<i>dùudāwkè</i>
3POL	<i>sòokāwkō</i>	<i>dùudāwkō</i>
1p	<i>sòokàwkēnì</i>	<i>dùudàwkēnì</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokàwkētì</i>	<i>dùudàwkētì</i>

B. Verbal paradigms

Counterfactual obligative, *f*-marked

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfāwkēnà</i>	<i>dùudèfāwkēnà</i>
2s	<i>sòokfāwkè</i>	<i>dùudèfāwkè</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfāwkēni</i>	<i>dùudèfāwkēni</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfāwngkā</i>	<i>dùudèfāwngkā</i>
3sm	<i>sòokfāwkè</i>	<i>dùudèfāwkè</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfāwkō</i>	<i>dùudèfāwkō</i>
1p	<i>sòokfāwkēni</i>	<i>dùudèfāwkēni</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfāwkētì</i>	<i>dùudèfāwkētì</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfāwkēni</i>	<i>dùudèsèfāwkēni</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèfāwngkā</i>	<i>dùudèsèfāwngkā</i>
3pm	<i>sòokèfāwkè</i>	<i>dùudèsèfāwkè</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokèfāwkō</i>	<i>dùudèsèfāwkō</i>

For ease of comparison, the *f*-unmarked variants of the optative and counterfactual obligative are placed next to their *f*-marked variants although they are not based on the realis stem, but on the bare verb root. There are no separate plural forms in the 3rd person and the 2nd person polite of the *f*-unmarked optative and counterfactual obligative.

B.2. Main verb forms, irrealis

Future

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokànā</i>	<i>dùudònā</i>
2s	<i>sòokātā</i>	<i>dùudòtā</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokànī</i>	<i>dùudònī</i>
3s	<i>sòokànā</i>	<i>dùudònā</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoknē</i>	<i>dùudònē</i>
1p	<i>sòokànī</i>	<i>dùudònī</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokātī</i>	<i>dùudòtī</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònī</i>	<i>dùudòsónī</i>
3p	<i>sòokònā</i>	<i>dùudòsónā</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokònē</i>	<i>dùudòsónē</i>

The future forms are also used adnominally if the subject is not coreferent with its head noun.

Nominalised future

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudò</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokànār</i>	<i>dùudònār</i>
2s	<i>sòokātār</i>	<i>dùudòtār</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokànīr</i>	<i>dùudònīr</i>
3sf	<i>sòoknīr</i>	<i>dùudònīr</i>
3sm	<i>sòoknīr</i>	<i>dùudònīr</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoknēr</i>	<i>dùudònēr</i>
1p	<i>sòokànīr</i>	<i>dùudònīr</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokātīr</i>	<i>dùudòtīr</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònīr</i>	<i>dùudòsónīr</i>
3pf	"	"
3pm	<i>sòokònīr</i>	<i>dùudòsónír</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokònēr</i>	<i>dùudòsōnēr</i>

Jussive/imperative

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudò</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokànā</i>	<i>dùudònā</i>
2s	<i>sòokà</i>	<i>dùudò</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknì</i>	<i>dùudònì</i>
3sf	<i>sòokùn</i>	<i>dùudòn</i>
3sm	<i>sòokò</i>	<i>dùudòwó</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktò</i>	<i>dùudòtó</i>
1p	<i>sòokànī</i>	<i>dùudònī</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoktì</i>	<i>dùudòtì</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònì</i>	<i>dùudòsōnì</i>
3pf	<i>sòokòn</i>	<i>dùudòsōn</i>
3pm	<i>sòokòsówó¹</i>	<i>dùudòsówó</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokòtó</i>	<i>dùudòsótó</i>

¹ Here, the variant with the double plural suffix *-o-só* was given.

B. Verbal paradigms

Negated simple

	a-class	o-class
	sòokà 'light'	dùudō 'try, practise'
1s	sòokùt	dùudòt
2s	sòokè	dùudòwé
2sPOL	sòokènī	dùudòwénī
3sf	sòokà	dùudòwá
3sm	sòokè	dùudòwè
3sPOL	sòoktō	dùudòtō
1p	sòokènī	dùudòwénī
2p/END	sòokètī	dùudòwétī
2pPOL	sòokòwénī	dùudòsówénī
3pf	sòokòwá	dùudòsówá
3pm	sòokòwè	dùudòsówè
3pPOL	sòokòtō	dùudòsótō

The negated simple forms are preceded by àané.

Negated future

	a-class	o-class
	sòokà 'light'	dùudō 'try, practise'
1s	sòokànāwūzā	dùudònāwūzā
2s	sòokàtāwūzā	dùudòtāwūzā
2sPOL	sòokànīwūzā	dùudònīwūzā
3s	sòokànāwūzā	dùudònāwūzā
3sPOL	sòoknèwūzā	dùudònèwūzā
1p	sòokànīwūzā	dùudònīwūzā
2p/END	sòokàtīwūzā	dùudòtīwūzā
2pPOL	sòokònīwūzā	dùudòsónīwūzā
3p	sòokònāwūzā	dùudòsónāwūzā
3pPOL	sòokònèwūzā	dùudòsónèwūzā

The negated future forms are preceded by àafá (negative simple 3rd person singular feminine of fō 'be there, live').

Prohibitive

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokànāatá</i>	<i>dùudònāatá</i>
2s	<i>sòokātāatá</i>	<i>dùudòtāatá</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokànīitá</i>	<i>dùudònīitá</i>
3s	<i>sòokànāatá</i>	<i>dùudònāatá</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoknēetá</i>	<i>dùudònēetá</i>
1p	<i>sòokànīitá</i>	<i>dùudònīitá</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokātīitá</i>	<i>dùudòtīitá</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònīitá</i>	<i>dùudòsónīitá</i>
3p	<i>sòokònāatá</i>	<i>dùudòsónāatá</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokònēetá</i>	<i>dùudòsónēetá</i>

Interrogative future

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokùnkàtá</i>	<i>dùudònkàtá</i>
2s	<i>sòokùnkè</i>	<i>dùudònkè</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokùnkēni</i>	<i>dùudònkēni</i>
3sf	<i>sòokùnkà</i>	<i>dùudònkà</i>
3sm	<i>sòokùnkè</i>	<i>dùudònkè</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokùnkō</i>	<i>dùudònkō</i>
1p	<i>sòokùnkēni</i>	<i>dùudònkēni</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokùnkētì</i>	<i>dùudònkētì</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokòsōnkēni</i> ²	<i>dùudòsōnkēni</i>
3pf	<i>sòokòsōnkà</i>	<i>dùudòsōnkà</i>
3pm	<i>sòokòsōnkè</i>	<i>dùudòsōnkè</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokòsōnkō</i>	<i>dùudòsōnkō</i>

² In the plural of the a-class verb, simple plural marking -o was not accepted.

B.3. Dependent verb forms, realis

Adnominal

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknā</i>	<i>dùudènā</i>
2s	<i>sòoktā</i>	<i>dùudètā</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknī</i>	<i>dùudènī</i>
3s	<i>sòoknā</i>	<i>dùudènā</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktē</i>	<i>dùudètē</i>
1p	<i>sòoknī</i>	<i>dùudènī</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoktī</i>	<i>dùudètī</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokènī</i>	<i>dùudèsénī</i>
3pf	<i>sòokènā</i>	<i>dùudèsénā</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokètē</i>	<i>dùudèsétē</i>

Adnominal, imperfective

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfànà</i>	<i>dùudèfànà</i>
2s	<i>sòokfàtà</i>	<i>dùudèfàtà</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfèni</i>	<i>dùudèfèni</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfànà</i>	<i>dùudèfànà</i>
3sm	<i>sòokfēnā</i>	<i>dùudèfēnā</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfē</i>	<i>dùudèfē</i>
1p	<i>sòokfèni</i>	<i>dùudèfèni</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfètì</i>	<i>dùudèfètì</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfèni</i>	<i>dùudèsèfèni</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèfànà</i>	<i>dùudèsèfànà</i>
3pm	<i>sòokèfēnā</i>	<i>dùudèsèfēnā</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokèfē</i>	<i>dùudèsèfē</i>

The simple and imperfective adnominal forms are used if the subject is not coreferent with its head noun.

General converb

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s, 2s, 2sPOL, 3sf 3sm/POL	<i>sòokkà</i> <i>sòokkē</i>	<i>dùudèrà</i> <i>dùudèrē</i>
1p, 2p/END 2pPOL, 3pf 3pm/POL	<i>sòokkà</i> <i>sòokèrà</i> <i>sòokèrē</i>	<i>dùudèrà</i> <i>dùudèsèrà</i> <i>dùudèsérē</i>

Different subject converb

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknā</i>	<i>dùudènā</i>
2s	<i>sòokīn</i>	<i>dùudēn</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknī</i>	<i>dùudènī</i>
3s	<i>sòokīn</i>	<i>dùudēn</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktēn</i>	<i>dùudètēn</i>
1p, 2p/END	<i>sòoknī</i>	<i>dùudènī</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokènī</i>	<i>dùudèsénī</i>
3p	<i>sòokēn</i>	<i>dùudèsēn</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokètēn</i>	<i>dùudèsétēn</i>

Different subject converb, IPFV

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfànā</i>	<i>dùudèfànā</i>
2s	<i>sòokfēn</i>	<i>dùudèfēn</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfèni</i>	<i>dùudèfèni</i>
3s/POL	<i>sòokfēn</i>	<i>dùudèfēn</i>
1p, 2p/END	<i>sòokfèni</i>	<i>dùudèfèni</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfèni</i>	<i>dùudèsèfèni</i>
3p/POL	<i>sòokèfēn</i>	<i>dùudèséfēn</i>

B. Verbal paradigms

Sequential converb, same subject

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1, 2, 2POL, 3f 3m/POL	<i>sòokàat</i> <i>sòokāat</i>	<i>dùudàat</i> <i>dùudāat</i>

Sequential converb, same subject, *f*-marked

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s, 2s, 2sPOL, 3sf 3sm/POL	<i>sòokfàat</i> <i>sòokfāat</i>	<i>dùudēfāat</i> <i>dùudéfāat</i>
1p, 2p/END 2pPOL, 3pf 3pm/POL	<i>sòokfàat</i> <i>sòokēfāat</i> <i>sòokéfāat</i>	<i>dùudēfāat</i> <i>dùudèsēfāat</i> <i>dùudèséfāat</i>

Sequential converb, different subject

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokāanā</i>	<i>dùudāanā</i>
2s	<i>sòokāan</i>	<i>dùudāan</i>
2POL	<i>sòokāanī</i>	<i>dùudāanī</i>
3	<i>sòokāan</i>	<i>dùudāan</i>
3POL	<i>sòokāatēn</i>	<i>dùudāatēn</i>
1p, 2p/END	<i>sòokāanī</i>	<i>dùudāanī</i>

There are no separate plural forms in the 3rd person and the 2nd person polite of the *f*-unmarked sequential converb.

Sequential converb, different subject, *f*-marked

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfàanà</i>	<i>dùudèfàanà</i>
2s	<i>sòokfāan</i>	<i>dùudèfāan</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfāanī</i>	<i>dùudèfāanī</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfāan</i>	<i>dùudèfāan</i>
3sm	<i>sòokfāan</i>	<i>dùudèfāan</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfāatēn</i>	<i>dùudèfāatēn</i>
1p, 2p/END	<i>sòokfāanī</i>	<i>dùudèfāanī</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokéfāanī</i>	<i>dùudèséfāanī</i>
3pf	<i>sòokéfāan</i>	<i>dùudèséfāan</i>
3pm	<i>sòokéfāan</i>	<i>dùudèséfāan</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokéfāatēn</i>	<i>dùudèséfāatēn</i>

For ease of comparison, the *f*-unmarked variants of the sequential converb are placed next to their *f*-marked variants although they are not based on the realis stem, but on the bare verb root.

Manner converb³

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s, 2, 2POL, 3f	<i>sòokèt</i>	<i>dùudèt</i>
3m, 3POL	<i>sòokět</i>	<i>dùudět</i>

Simultaneous converb

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s, 2s, 2sPOL, 3sf	<i>sòokfàt</i>	<i>dùudèfàt</i>
3sm/POL	<i>sòokfēt</i>	<i>dùudèfēt</i>
1p, 2p/END	<i>sòokfàt</i>	<i>dùudèfàt</i>
2pPOL, 3pf	<i>sòokéfàt</i>	<i>dùudèséfàt</i>
3pm/POL	<i>sòokéfēt</i>	<i>dùudèséfēt</i>

³ For this converb, plural forms were not elicited since they are not commonly used. As usual, singular forms can be used for plural reference as well.

B. Verbal paradigms

Iterative converb

	a-class ⁴
	<i>kèer'â</i> 'build a house'
1, 2, 2POL, 3f 3m/POL	<i>kèer'āafâ</i> <i>kèer'āafē</i>

Iterative converb, *f*-marked

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokâ</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s, 2s, 2sPOL, 3sf 3sm/POL	<i>sòokfāafâ, sòoktāafâ</i> <i>sòokfāafē, sòoktāafē</i>	<i>dùudéfāafâ, dùudètāafâ</i> <i>dùudéfāafē, dùudètāafē</i>
1p, 2p/END 2sPOL, 3pf 3pm/POL	<i>sòokfāafâ, sòoktāafâ</i> <i>sòokèfāafâ, sòokètāafâ</i> <i>sòokèfāafē, sòokètāafē</i>	<i>dùudéfāafâ, dùudètāafâ</i> <i>dùudèséfāafâ, dùudèsètāafâ</i> <i>dùudèséfāafē, dùudèsètāafē</i>

For ease of comparison, the *f*/*t*-unmarked variant of the iterative converb is placed next to its *f*/*t*-marked variant although it is not based on the realis stem, but on the bare verb root.

General quasi-converb

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokâ</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknārè</i>	<i>dùudènārè</i>
2s	<i>sòoktārè</i>	<i>dùudètārè</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknīrè</i>	<i>dùudènīrè</i>
3s	<i>sòoknārè</i>	<i>dùudènārè</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktērè</i>	<i>dùudètērè</i>
1p	<i>sòoknīrè</i>	<i>dùudènīrè</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoktīrè</i>	<i>dùudètīrè</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokènīrè</i>	<i>dùudèsénīrè</i>
3p	<i>sòokènārè</i>	<i>dùudèsénārè</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokètērè</i>	<i>dùudèsètērè</i>

⁴ I have not found a verb of the o- or u-class that is built without *-f* or *-t* (cf. B.3 above).

General quasi-converb, different subject

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfànàrè</i>	<i>dùudèfànàrè</i>
2s	<i>sòokfâtàrè</i>	<i>dùudèfâtàrè</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfènirè</i>	<i>dùudèfènirè</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfànàrè</i>	<i>dùudèfànàrè</i>
3sm	<i>sòokfēnàrè</i>	<i>dùudèfēnàrè</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfèrē</i>	<i>dùudèfèrē</i>
1p	<i>sòokfènirè</i>	<i>dùudèfènirè</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfètirè</i>	<i>dùudèfètirè</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfènirè</i>	<i>dùudèsèfènirè</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèfànàrè</i>	<i>dùudèsèfànàrè</i>
3pm	<i>sòokèfēnàrè</i>	<i>dùudèsèfēnàrè</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokèfèrē</i>	<i>dùudèsèfèrē</i>

Temporal 1

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknānnēen</i>	<i>dùudènānnēen</i>
2s	<i>sòoktānnēen</i>	<i>dùudètānnēen</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudènīnnēen</i>
3s	<i>sòoknānnēen</i>	<i>dùudènānnēen</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktēnnēen</i>	<i>dùudètēnnēen</i>
1p	<i>sòoknīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudènīnnēen</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoktīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudètīnnēen</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokènīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudèsénīnnēen</i>
3p	<i>sòokènānnēen</i>	<i>dùudèsénānnēen</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokètēnnēen</i>	<i>dùudèsétēnnēen</i>

B. Verbal paradigms

Temporal 1, adversative

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfànāānnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfànāānnēen</i>
2s	<i>sòokfātānnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfātānnēen</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfènnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfènnēen</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfànānnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfànānnēen</i>
3sm	<i>sòokfēnānnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfēnānnēen</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfēnnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfēnnēen</i>
1p	<i>sòokfènnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfènnēen</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfètinnēen</i>	<i>dùudēfètinnēen</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokēfènnēen</i>	<i>dùudēsēfènnēen</i>
3pf	<i>sòokēfànānnēen</i>	<i>dùudēsēfànānnēen</i>
3pm	<i>sòokēfēnānnēen</i>	<i>dùudēsēfēnānnēen</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokēfēnnēen</i>	<i>dùudēsēfēnnēen</i>

Temporal 2

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokā</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknāasē</i>	<i>dùudènāasē</i>
2s	<i>sòoktāasē</i>	<i>dùudètāasē</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknīisē</i>	<i>dùudènīisē</i>
3s	<i>sòoknāasē</i>	<i>dùudènāasē</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoktēesē</i>	<i>dùudètēesē</i>
1p	<i>sòoknīisē</i>	<i>dùudènīisē</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoktīisē</i>	<i>dùudètīisē</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokènīisē</i>	<i>dùudèsénīisē</i>
3p	<i>sòokènāasē</i>	<i>dùudèsénāasē</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokètēesē</i>	<i>dùudèsétēesē</i>

Conditional

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokàanānē</i>	<i>dùudàanānē</i>
2s	<i>sòokàatānē</i>	<i>dùudàatānē</i>
2POL	<i>sòokāanīnē</i>	<i>dùudāanīnē</i>
3	<i>sòokāanānē</i>	<i>dùudāanānē</i>
3POL	<i>sòokāatēnē</i>	<i>dùudāatēnē</i>
1p	<i>sòokāanīnē</i>	<i>dùudāanīnē</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokāatīnē</i>	<i>dùudāatīnē</i>

There are no separate plural forms in the 3rd person and the 2nd person polite of the f-unmarked conditional.

Conditional, f-marked

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfāanānē</i>	<i>dùudèfāanānē</i>
2s	<i>sòokfāatānē</i>	<i>dùudèfāatānē</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfāanīnē</i>	<i>dùudèfāanīnē</i>
3s	<i>sòokfāanānē</i>	<i>dùudèfāanānē</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfāatēnē</i>	<i>dùudèfāatēnē</i>
1p	<i>sòokfāanīnē</i>	<i>dùudèfāanīnē</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfāatīnē</i>	<i>dùudèfāatīnē</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfāanīnē</i>	<i>dùudèséfāanīnē</i>
3p	<i>sòokèfāanānē</i>	<i>dùudèséfāanānē</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokèfāatēnē</i>	<i>dùudèséfāatēnē</i>

For ease of comparison, the f-unmarked variant of the conditional is placed next to its f-marked variant although it is not based on the realis stem, but on the bare verb root.

B. Verbal paradigms

Complement form

	a-class	o-class
	sòokà 'light'	dùudō 'try, practise'
1s	sòoknāmātó	dùudènāmātó
2s	sòoktāmātó	dùudètāmātó
2sPOL	sòoknīmātó	dùudènīmātó
3s	sòoknāmātó	dùudènāmātó
3sPOL	sòoktēmātó	dùudètēmātó
1p	sòoknīmātó	dùudènīmātó
2p/END	sòoktimātó	dùudètīmātó
2pPOL	sòokènīmātó	dùudèsènīmātó
3p	sòokènāmātó	dùudèsènāmātó
3pPOL	sòokètēmātó	dùudèsètēmātó

Similative

	a-class	o-class
	sòokà 'light'	dùudō 'try, practise'
1s	sòoknāasīmātó	dùudènāasīmātó
2s	sòoktāasīmātó	dùudètāasīmātó
2sPOL	sòoknīisīmātó	dùudènīisīmātó
3s	sòoknāasīmātó	dùudènāasīmātó
3sPOL	sòoktēesīmātó	dùudètēesīmātó
1p	sòoknīisīmātó	dùudènīisīmātó
2p/END	sòoktīisīmātó	dùudètīisīmātó
2pPOL	sòokènīisīmātó	dùudèsènīisīmātó
3p	sòokènāasīmātó	dùudèsènāasīmātó
3pPOL	sòokètēesīmātó	dùudèsètēesīmātó

Similative, imperfective

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfànàasīmātó</i>
2s	<i>sòokfàtàasīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfàtàasīmātó</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfèniisīmātó</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfànàasīmātó</i>
3sm	<i>sòokfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfēnàasīmātó</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfēesīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfēesīmātó</i>
1p	<i>sòokfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfèniisīmātó</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfètìisīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfètìisīmātó</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèfèniisīmātó</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèsèfànàasīmātó</i>
3pm	<i>sòokèfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèséfēnàasīmātó</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokèfēesīmātó</i>	<i>dùudèséfēesīmātó</i>

Concessive

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokfànàk</i>	<i>dùudèfànàk</i>
2s	<i>sòokfàtàk</i>	<i>dùudèfàtàk</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokfènik</i>	<i>dùudèfènik</i>
3sf	<i>sòokfànàk</i>	<i>dùudèfànàk</i>
3sm	<i>sòokfēnàk</i>	<i>dùudèfēnàk</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòokfēk</i>	<i>dùudèfēk</i>
1p	<i>sòokfènik</i>	<i>dùudèfènik</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokfètìk</i>	<i>dùudèfètìk</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokèfènik</i>	<i>dùudèsèfènik</i>
3pf	<i>sòokèfànàk</i>	<i>dùudèsèfànàk</i>
3pm	<i>sòokèfēnàk</i>	<i>dùudèséfēnàk</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokèfēk</i>	<i>dùudèséfēk</i>

B.4. Dependent verb forms, irrealis

Negative converb

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s, 2s, 2sPOL, 3s, 3sPOL	<i>sòoknǒy</i>	<i>dùudònǒy</i>
1p, 2p/END 2pPOL, 3p, 3pPOL	<i>sòoknǒy</i> <i>sòokònǒy</i>	<i>dùudònǒy</i> <i>dùudòsǒnǒy</i>

The (3rd person) negative converb forms are also used adnominally if the subject is coreferent with its head noun.

Temporal 1, terminative

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokànānnēen</i>	<i>dùudònānnēen</i>
2s	<i>sòokàtānnēen</i>	<i>dùudòtānnēen</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokànīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudònīnnēen</i>
3s	<i>sòokànānnēen</i>	<i>dùudònānnēen</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoknēnnēen</i>	<i>dùudònēnnēen</i>
1p	<i>sòokànīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudònīnnēen</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokàtīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudòtīnnēen</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònīnnēen</i>	<i>dùudòsónīnnēen</i>
3p	<i>sòokònānnēen</i>	<i>dùudòsónānnēen</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokònēnnēen</i>	<i>dùudòsónēnnēen</i>

Negative conditional

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknōynāròn</i>	<i>dùudònōynāròn</i>
2s	<i>sòoknōytāròn</i>	<i>dùudònōytāròn</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknōynīròn</i>	<i>dùudònōynīròn</i>
3s	<i>sòoknōynāròn</i>	<i>dùudònōynāròn</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoknōytēròn</i>	<i>dùudònōytēròn</i>
1p	<i>sòoknōynīròn</i>	<i>dùudònōynīròn</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoknōytīròn</i>	<i>dùudònōytīròn</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònōynīròn</i>	<i>dùudòsónóynīròn</i>
3p	<i>sòokònōynāròn</i>	<i>dùudòsónóynāròn</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokònōytēròn</i>	<i>dùudòsónóytēròn</i>

Purposive

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòokànāk</i>	<i>dùudònāk</i>
2s	<i>sòokātāk</i>	<i>dùudòtāk</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòokànīk</i>	<i>dùudònīk</i>
3s	<i>sòokànāk</i>	<i>dùudònāk</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoknēk</i>	<i>dùudònēk</i>
1p	<i>sòokànīk</i>	<i>dùudònīk</i>
2p/END	<i>sòokātīk</i>	<i>dùudòtīk</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònīk</i>	<i>dùudòsónīk</i>
3p	<i>sòokònāk</i>	<i>dùudòsónāk</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokònēk</i>	<i>dùudòsónēk</i>

B. Verbal paradigms

Negative purposive

	a-class	o-class
	<i>sòokà</i> 'light'	<i>dùudō</i> 'try, practise'
1s	<i>sòoknőynāmātó</i>	<i>dùudònőynāmātó</i>
2s	<i>sòoknőytāmātó</i>	<i>dùudònőytāmātó</i>
2sPOL	<i>sòoknőynīmātó</i>	<i>dùudònőynīmātó</i>
3s	<i>sòoknőynāmātó</i>	<i>dùudònőynāmātó</i>
3sPOL	<i>sòoknőytēmātó</i>	<i>dùudònőytēmātó</i>
1p	<i>sòoknőynīmātó</i>	<i>dùudònőynīmātó</i>
2p/END	<i>sòoknőytīmātó</i>	<i>dùudònőytīmātó</i>
2pPOL	<i>sòokònőynīmātó</i>	<i>dùudòsónóynīmātó</i>
3p	<i>sòokònőynāmātó</i>	<i>dùudòsónóynāmātó</i>
3pPOL	<i>sòokònőytēmātó</i>	<i>dùudòsónóytēmātó</i>

C. Paradigms of irregular verbs

Four of the six irregular verbs have different stems for the polite persons. Even though these do not show irregular morphology they are listed here for the sake of completeness.

In the 2nd person plural the variant without the plural suffix was chosen, which is identical to the endearment form of the 2nd person singular.

The forms are sorted by distinguishing between realis vs. irrealis stems, and by their use in main vs. dependent clauses.

Full paradigms of the optative and the imperfective complement form are missing in the data.

The behaviour of tone in these verb forms is not yet fully understood. Inconsistencies in the data are at least partly due to tonal irregularities.

C.1. Main verb forms, realis

Simple

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tàr'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīin</i>	<i>fàn</i>	<i>yàn</i>	<i>mǎn</i>	<i>dīn</i>	<i>yīn</i>
2s	<i>bīit</i>	<i>fàt</i>	<i>yàt</i>	<i>mǎt</i>	<i>dīt</i>	<i>yīt</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménī</i>	<i>fànì</i>	<i>èfénī</i>	<i>tàr'nī</i>	<i>kéynī</i>	<i>yīnī</i>
3sf	<i>bī</i>	<i>fà</i>	<i>yà</i>	<i>mǎ</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>yī</i>
3sm	"	<i>fè</i>	<i>yè</i>	<i>mě</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémétē</i>	<i>fètē</i>	<i>èfétē</i>	<i>tàr'tē</i>	<i>kéytē</i>	<i>yītē</i>
1p	<i>bīinī</i>	<i>fànì</i>	<i>yànì</i>	<i>mǎnī</i>	<i>dīnī</i>	<i>yīnī</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitī</i>	<i>fàtì</i>	<i>yàtì</i>	<i>mǎtī</i>	<i>dītī</i>	<i>yītī</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénī</i>	<i>fàsénī</i>	<i>èfsénī</i>	<i>tàr'sénī</i>	<i>kéysénī</i>	<i>yìsénī</i>
3pf	<i>bīyésé</i>	<i>fàsè</i>	<i>yàsè</i>	<i>màsé</i>	<i>dìsé</i>	<i>yìsé</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsè</i>	<i>yèsè</i>	<i>mèsé</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsétē</i>	<i>fèsètē</i>	<i>èfsétē</i>	<i>tàr'sètē</i>	<i>kéysétē</i>	<i>yìsétē</i>

The 3rd person simple forms are also used adnominally if the subject is coreferent with its head noun.

Nominalised simple

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīinār</i>	<i>fànār</i>	<i>yànār</i>	<i>mǎnār</i>	<i>dīnār</i>	<i>yīnār</i>
2s	<i>bīitār</i>	<i>fàtār</i>	<i>yàtār</i>	<i>mǎtār</i>	<i>dītār</i>	<i>yītār</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménīr</i>	<i>fànīr</i>	<i>èfénīr</i>	<i>tār'nīr</i>	<i>kéynīr</i>	<i>yīnīr</i>
3sf	<i>bīyār</i>	<i>fār</i>	<i>yār</i>	<i>mār</i>	<i>dīr</i>	<i>yīr</i>
3sm	<i>bīyār</i>	<i>fēr</i>	<i>yēr</i>	<i>mēr</i>	<i>dīr</i>	<i>yīr</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémētēr</i>	<i>fètēr</i>	<i>èfétēr</i>	<i>tār'tēr</i>	<i>kéytēr</i>	<i>yītēr</i>
1p	<i>bīinīr</i>	<i>fànīr</i>	<i>yànīr</i>	<i>mǎnīr</i>	<i>dīnīr</i>	<i>yīnīr</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitīr</i>	<i>fàtīr</i>	<i>yàtīr</i>	<i>mǎtīr</i>	<i>dītīr</i>	<i>yītīr</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénīr</i>	<i>fàsénīr</i>	<i>èfsénīr</i>	<i>tār'sénīr</i>	<i>kéysénīr</i>	<i>yìsénīr</i>
3pf	<i>bīyēr</i>	<i>fàsēr</i>	<i>yàsēr</i>	<i>màsēr</i>	<i>dīsēr</i>	<i>yīsēr</i>
3pm	<i>bīyēr</i>	<i>fèsēr</i>	<i>yèsēr</i>	<i>mèsér</i>	<i>dìsér</i>	<i>yìsér</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsétēr</i>	<i>fèsètēr</i>	<i>èfsétēr</i>	<i>tār'sètēr</i>	<i>kéysétēr</i>	<i>yìsétēr</i>

Imperfective

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīifàn</i>	<i>fāfàn</i>	<i>yāfàn</i>	<i>māfàn</i>	<i>dīfàn</i>	<i>yifàn</i>
2s	<i>bīifàt</i>	<i>fāfàt</i>	<i>yāfàt</i>	<i>māfàt</i>	<i>dīfàt</i>	<i>yifàt</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfèni</i>	<i>fāfèni</i>	<i>ēfēfèni</i>	<i>tār'fèni</i>	<i>kēefèni</i>	<i>yifèni</i>
3sf	<i>bīifā</i>	<i>fāfā</i>	<i>yāfā</i>	<i>māfā</i>	<i>dīfā</i>	<i>yifā</i>
3sm	<i>bīifē</i>	<i>fēfē</i>	<i>yēfē</i>	<i>mēfē</i>	<i>dīfē</i>	<i>yīfē</i>
3sPOL	<i>kéméfē</i>	"	<i>ēfēfē</i>	<i>tār'fē</i>	<i>kéyfē</i>	"
1p	<i>bīifèni</i>	<i>fāfèni</i>	<i>yāfèni</i>	<i>māfèni</i>	<i>dīfèni</i>	<i>yifèni</i>
2p/END	<i>bīifètì</i>	<i>fāfètì</i>	<i>yāfètì</i>	<i>māfètì</i>	<i>dīfètì</i>	<i>yifètì</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfèni</i>	<i>fàsèfèni</i>	<i>ēsēfèni</i>	<i>tār'sèfèni</i>	<i>kéysēfèni</i>	<i>yīsēfèni</i>
3pf	<i>bīyēfā</i>	<i>fàsēfā</i>	<i>yàsēfā</i>	<i>māsēfā</i>	<i>dīsēfā</i>	<i>yisēfā</i>
3pm	<i>bīyéfē</i>	<i>fèsēfē</i>	<i>yèsēfē</i>	<i>mèsēfē</i>	<i>dìsēfē</i>	<i>yisēfē</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémséfē</i>	"	<i>èséfē</i>	<i>tār'séfē</i>	<i>kéyséfē</i>	"

The 3rd person imperfective forms are also used adnominally if the subject is coreferent with its head noun.

Negated imperfective

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīfāt</i>	<i>fāfāt</i>	<i>yāfāt</i>	<i>māfāt</i>	<i>dīfāt</i>	<i>yīfāt</i>
2s	<i>bīfē</i>	<i>fēfē</i>	<i>yàfē</i>	<i>màfē</i>	<i>dīfē</i>	<i>yīfē</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfēnī</i>	<i>fāfēnī</i>	<i>éfēfēnī</i>	<i>tār'fēnī</i>	<i>kéyfēnī</i>	<i>yīfēnī</i>
3sf	<i>bīfā</i>	<i>fāfā</i>	<i>yāfā</i>	<i>māfā</i>	<i>dīfā</i>	<i>yīfā</i>
3sm	<i>bīfē</i>	<i>fēfē</i>	<i>yèfē</i>	<i>mēfē</i>	<i>dīfē</i>	<i>yīfē</i>
3sPOL	<i>kéméfē</i>	"	<i>ēfēfē</i>	<i>tār'fē</i>	<i>kéyfē</i>	"
1p	<i>bīfēnī</i>	<i>fāfēnī</i>	<i>yāfēnī</i>	<i>māfēnī</i>	<i>dīfēnī</i>	<i>yīfēnī</i>
2p/END	<i>bīfētī</i>	<i>fāfētī</i>	<i>yāfētī</i>	<i>māfētī</i>	<i>dīfētī</i>	<i>yīfētī</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfēnī</i>	<i>fàsēfēnī</i>	<i>éfsēfēnī</i>	<i>tār'sēfēnī</i>	<i>kéysēfēnī</i>	<i>yīsēfēnī</i>
3pf	<i>bīyēfā</i>	<i>fàsēfā</i>	<i>yàsēfā</i>	<i>màsēfā</i>	<i>dīsēfā</i>	<i>yīsēfā</i>
3pm	<i>bīyéfē</i>	<i>fèsēfē</i>	<i>yèsēfē</i>	<i>mēsēfē</i>	<i>dīsēfē</i>	<i>yīsēfē</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémséfē</i>	"	<i>ēfséfē</i>	<i>tār'séfē</i>	<i>kéyséfē</i>	"

The negated imperfective forms are preceded by *àané*. The high tone at the end of that particle causes a following low to be upstepped to mid (following the rule ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, cf. section 2.6.3).

(Nominalised) progressive

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīidīfān(àr)</i>	<i>fādīfān(àr)</i>	<i>yādīfān(àr)</i>	<i>mādīfān(àr)</i>	– ¹	<i>yīdīfān(àr)</i>
2s	<i>bīidīfāt(àr)</i>	<i>fādīfāt(àr)</i>	<i>yādīfāt(àr)</i>	<i>mādīfāt(àr)</i>	–	<i>yīdīfāt(àr)</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēdīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>fādīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>ēfēdīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>tār'dīfēnì(r)</i>	–	<i>yīdīfēnì(r)</i>
3sf	<i>bīidīfā(r)</i>	<i>fādīfā(r)</i>	<i>yādīfā(r)</i>	<i>mādīfā(r)</i>	–	<i>yīdīfā(r)</i>
3sm	<i>bīidīfē(r)</i>	<i>fēdīfē(r)</i>	<i>yēdīfē(r)</i>	<i>mēdīfē(r)</i>	–	<i>yīdīfē(r)</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémédīfē(r)</i>	"	<i>ēfédīfē(r)</i>	<i>tār'dīfē(r)</i>	–	"
1p	<i>bīidīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>fādīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>yādīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>mādīfēnì(r)</i>	–	<i>yīdīfēnì(r)</i>
2p/END	<i>bīidīfètì(r)</i>	<i>fādīfètì(r)</i>	<i>yādīfètì(r)</i>	<i>mādīfètì(r)</i>	–	<i>yīdīfètì(r)</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēdīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>fàsēdīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>ēfsēdīfēnì(r)</i>	<i>tār'sēdīfēnì(r)</i>	–	<i>yīsēdīfēnì(r)</i>
3pf	<i>bīyēdīfā(r)</i>	<i>fàsēdīfā(r)</i>	<i>yàsēdīfā(r)</i>	<i>màsēdīfā(r)</i>	–	<i>yīsēdīfā(r)</i>
3pm	<i>bīyēdīfē(r)</i>	<i>fèsēdīfē(r)</i>	<i>yèsēdīfē(r)</i>	<i>mèsēdīfē(r)</i>	–	<i>yīsēdīfē(r)</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsédīfē(r)</i>	"	<i>ēfsédīfē(r)</i>	<i>tār'sédīfē(r)</i>	–	"

The 3rd person non-nominalised progressive forms are also used adnominally if the subject is coreferent with its head noun.

¹ The progressive form of *dū/kēyū* 'sit (down)' was judged ungrammatical by the informants, although it does occur in an (elicited) example.

Negative nominalised progressive

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīdīfànàttá</i>	<i>fādīfànàttá</i>	<i>yādīfànàttá</i>	<i>mādīfànàttá</i>	<i>dīdīfànàttá</i>	– ²
2s	<i>bīdīfàtàttá</i>	<i>fādīfàtàttá</i>	<i>yādīfàtàttá</i>	<i>mādīfàtàttá</i>	<i>dīdīfàtàttá</i>	–
2sPOL	<i>kēmēdīfènìttá</i>	<i>fādīfènìttá</i>	<i>ēfēdīfènìttá</i>	<i>tār'dīfènìttá</i>	<i>kēydīfènìttá</i>	–
3sf	<i>bīdīfàttá</i>	<i>fādīfàttá</i>	<i>yādīfàttá</i>	<i>mādīfàttá</i>	<i>dīdīfàttá</i>	–
3sm	<i>bīdīfèttè</i>	<i>fēdīfèttè</i>	<i>yēdīfèttè</i>	<i>mēdīfèttè</i>	<i>dīdīfèttè</i>	–
3sPOL	<i>kémédīfèttá</i>	<i>fēdīfèttá</i>	<i>ēfēdīfèttá</i>	<i>tār'dīfèttá</i>	<i>kēydīfèttá</i>	–
1p	<i>bīdīfènìttá</i>	<i>fādīfènìttá</i>	<i>yādīfènìttá</i>	<i>mādīfènìttá</i>	<i>dīdīfènìttá</i>	–
2p/END	<i>bīdīfètìttá</i>	<i>fādīfètìttá</i>	<i>yādīfètìttá</i>	<i>mādīfètìttá</i>	<i>dīdīfètìttá</i>	–
2pPOL	<i>kémsēdīfènìttá</i>	<i>fàsēdīfènìttá</i>	<i>ēsēdīfènìttá</i>	<i>tār'sēdīfènìttá</i>	<i>kéysēdīfènìttá</i>	–
3pf	<i>bīyēdīfàttá</i>	<i>fàsēdīfàttá</i>	<i>yàsēdīfàttá</i>	<i>màsēdīfàttá</i>	<i>dīsēdīfàttá</i>	–
3pm	<i>bīyēdīfèttè</i>	<i>fèsēdīfèttè</i>	<i>yèsēdīfèttè</i>	<i>mèsēdīfèttè</i>	<i>disēdīfèttè</i>	–
3pPOL	<i>kémsédīfèttá</i>	<i>fèsēdīfèttá</i>	<i>ēsédīfè(r)</i>	<i>tār'sédīfèttá</i>	<i>kéysédīfèttá</i>	–

² The negative progressive form of *wū* 'say' was judged ungrammatical by the informants. The negative progressive of *dū/kēyū* 'sit (down)', on the other hand, is grammatical while its affirmative counterpart is not (cf. preceding table).

Counterfactual obligative

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīyāwkēnà</i>	<i>fāfāwkēnà</i>	<i>yāfāwkēnà</i>	<i>mà'āwkēnà</i>	<i>dīfāwkēnà</i>	<i>yīyāwkēnà</i>
2s	<i>bīyāwkē</i>	<i>fāfāwkē</i>	<i>yāfāwkē</i>	<i>mà'āwkē</i>	<i>dīfāwkē</i>	<i>yīyāwkē</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmāwkēnì</i>	<i>fāfāwkēnì</i>	<i>ēfēfāwkēnì</i>	<i>tār'āwnkēnì</i>	<i>kēyfāwkēnì</i>	<i>yīyāwkēnì</i>
3sf	<i>bīyāwkā</i>	<i>fāfāwnkā</i>	<i>yāfāwnkā</i>	<i>mà'āwnkā</i>	<i>dīfāwnkā</i>	<i>yīyāwnkā</i>
3sm	<i>bīyāwkè</i>	<i>fēfāwnkè</i>	<i>yēfāwnkè</i>	<i>mē'āwnkè</i>	<i>dīfāwkè</i>	<i>yīyāwkè</i>
3sPOL	<i>kēmāwnkō</i>	<i>fēfāwkō</i>	<i>ēfēfāwkō</i>	<i>tār'āwkō</i>	– ³	<i>yīyāwkō</i>
1p	<i>bīyāwkēnì</i>	<i>fāfāwkēnì</i>	<i>yāfāwkēnì</i>	<i>mà'āwkēnì</i>	<i>dīfāwkēnì</i>	<i>yīyāwkēnì</i>
2p/END	<i>bīyāwkētì</i>	<i>fāfāwkētì</i>	<i>yāfāwkētì</i>	<i>mà'āwkētì</i>	<i>dīfāwkētì</i>	<i>yīyāwkētì</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfāwkēnì</i>	<i>fāfāwkēnì</i>	<i>ēfsēfāwkēnì</i>	<i>tār'āwkēnì</i>	<i>kéysēfāwkēnì</i>	<i>yīyāwkēnì</i>
3pf	<i>bīyēfāwnkā</i>	<i>fāfāwnkā</i>	<i>yāfāwnkā</i>	<i>mà'āwnkā</i>	<i>dīisēfāwnkā</i>	<i>yīyāwnkā</i>
3pm	<i>bīyēfāwnkè</i>	<i>fēfāwnkè</i>	<i>yēsēfāwnkè</i>	<i>mē'āwnkè</i>	<i>dīisēfāwnkè</i>	<i>yīyāwkè</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémséfāwnkō</i>	<i>fēfāwkō</i>	<i>ēfséfāwkō</i>	<i>tār'āwkō</i>	–	<i>yīyāwkō</i>

The forms are partly f-marked. Note that f-unmarked forms are not based on the realis stem but on the bare verb root. Some plural forms given are formally singular. Irregularities in tone may be due to variation.

³ Missing data in the 3rd person polite forms of the verb *kēyū* 'sit (down)'.

C.2. Main verb forms, irrealis

Negated simple

	<i>bīyā̄/kēmō̄</i> 'see'	<i>fō̄</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō̄/ōfō̄</i> 'come'	<i>mū̄/tà̄r'à̄</i> 'eat'	<i>dū̄/kēyū̄</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū̄</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīyūt</i>	<i>āafōt</i>	<i>yòt</i>	<i>mùt</i>	<i>dūt</i>	<i>wùt</i>
2s	<i>bīyé</i>	<i>āafē</i>	<i>yōwé</i>	<i>mūwé</i>	<i>dūwé</i>	<i>wūwè</i>
2sPOL	<i>kémówénī̄</i>	<i>āafénī̄</i>	<i>ōfóénī̄</i>	<i>tà̄r'énī̄</i>	<i>kéyúwénī̄</i>	<i>wūwénī̄</i>
3sf	<i>bīyá</i>	<i>āafá</i>	<i>yōwá</i>	<i>mūwá</i>	<i>dūwá</i>	<i>wūwá</i>
3sm	<i>bīyè</i>	<i>āafé</i>	<i>yōwé</i>	<i>mūwè</i>	<i>dūwè</i>	<i>wūwè</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémótō̄</i>	<i>āafátō̄</i>	<i>ōfótō̄</i>	<i>tà̄r'tō̄</i>	<i>kéyútō̄</i>	<i>wūtō̄</i>
1p	<i>bīyénī̄</i>	<i>āafénī̄</i>	<i>yōwénī̄</i>	<i>mūwénī̄</i>	<i>dūwénī̄</i>	<i>wūwénī̄</i>
2p/END	<i>bīyétī̄</i>	<i>āafétī̄</i>	<i>yōwétī̄</i>	<i>mūwétī̄</i>	<i>dūwétī̄</i>	<i>wūwétī̄</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsówénī̄</i>	<i>āafsénī̄</i>	<i>ōfsówénī̄</i>	<i>tà̄r'sówénī̄</i>	<i>kéysówénī̄</i>	<i>wūsówénī̄</i>
3pf	<i>bīyósówá</i>	<i>āafá</i>	<i>yōsówá</i>	<i>mūsówá</i>	<i>dūsówá</i>	<i>wūsówá</i>
3pm	<i>bīyósowè</i>	<i>āafé</i>	<i>yōsowè</i>	<i>mūsowè</i>	<i>dūsowè</i>	<i>wūsowè</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsótō̄</i>	<i>āafsátō̄</i>	<i>ōfsótō̄</i>	<i>tà̄r'sòtō̄</i>	<i>kéysótō̄</i>	<i>wūsótō̄</i>

The verb *fō̄* 'be there, live' stands out because it does not occur after the negative particle *āané* but incorporates it. The other negated forms need *āané* before them. The high tone at the end of that particle causes a following low to be upstepped to mid (following the rule ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, cf. section 2.6.3).

Nominalised future

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīyānār</i>	<i>fōnār</i>	<i>yōnār</i>	<i>mūnār</i>	<i>dūnār</i>	<i>wūnār</i>
2s	<i>bīyātār</i>	<i>fōtār</i>	<i>yōtār</i>	<i>mūtār</i>	<i>dūtār</i>	<i>wūtār</i>
2sPOL	<i>kémónīr</i>	<i>fónīr</i>	<i>òfónīr</i>	<i>tār'ànīr</i>	<i>kéyúnīr</i>	<i>wūnīr</i>
3sf	<i>bìnīr</i>	<i>fónīr</i>	<i>yònīr</i>	<i>mùnīr</i>	<i>dūnīr</i>	<i>wùnīr</i>
3sm	<i>bīnīr</i>	<i>fónīr</i>	<i>yònīr</i>	<i>mùnīr</i>	<i>dūnīr</i>	<i>wùnīr</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémónēr</i>	<i>fònēr</i>	<i>òfònēr</i>	<i>tār'nēr</i>	<i>kēyúnēr</i>	<i>wūnēr</i>
1p	<i>bīyānīr</i>	<i>fónīr</i>	<i>yōnīr</i>	<i>mūnīr</i>	<i>dūnīr</i>	<i>wūnīr</i>
2p/END	<i>bīyātīr</i>	<i>fótīr</i>	<i>yōtīr</i>	<i>mūtīr</i>	<i>dūtīr</i>	<i>wūtīr</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsónīr</i>	<i>fósónīr</i>	<i>òfsónīr</i>	<i>tār'sónīr</i>	<i>kéysónīr</i>	<i>wùsónīr</i>
3pf	<i>bīyōnīr</i>	<i>fòsònīr</i>	<i>yòsònīr</i>	<i>mùsònīr</i>	<i>dūsònīr</i>	<i>wūsònīr</i>
3pm	<i>bīyōnīr</i>	<i>fòsònīr</i>	<i>yòsònīr</i>	<i>mùsònīr</i>	<i>dūsònīr</i>	<i>wūsònīr</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsónēr</i>	<i>fòsònēr</i>	<i>òfsònēr</i>	<i>tār'sònēr</i>	<i>kéysònēr</i>	<i>wùsònēr</i>

Future

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tàr'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bìyānā</i>	<i>fónā</i>	<i>yōnā</i>	<i>mǔnā</i>	<i>dǔnā</i>	<i>wūnā</i>
2s	<i>bìyātā</i>	<i>fótā</i>	<i>yōtā</i>	<i>mǔtā</i>	<i>dǔtā</i>	<i>wūtā</i>
2sPOL	<i>kémónī</i>	<i>fónī</i>	<i>òfónī</i>	<i>tàr'ànī</i>	<i>kéyúnī</i>	<i>wūnī</i>
3s	<i>bìyānā</i>	<i>fónā</i>	<i>yōnā</i>	<i>mǔnā</i>	<i>dǔnā</i>	<i>wūnā</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémónē</i>	<i>fònē</i>	<i>ōfōnē, òfōnē</i>	<i>tàr'nē</i>	<i>kéyúnē</i>	<i>wūnē</i>
1p	<i>bìyānī</i>	<i>fónī</i>	<i>yōnī</i>	<i>mǔnī</i>	<i>dǔnī</i>	<i>wūnī</i>
2p/END	<i>bìyātī</i>	<i>fótī</i>	<i>yōtī</i>	<i>mǔtī</i>	<i>dǔtī</i>	<i>wūtī</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsónī</i>	<i>fósónī</i>	<i>òfsónī</i>	<i>tàr'sónī</i>	<i>kéysónī</i>	<i>wùsónī</i>
3p	<i>bìyósónā</i>	<i>fòsònā, fósónā</i>	<i>yòsónā</i>	<i>mùsónā</i>	<i>dùsónā</i>	<i>wùsónā</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsónē</i>	<i>fòsònē, fósónē</i>	<i>òfsònē, òfsónē</i>	<i>tàr'sònē</i>	<i>kéysònē, kéwsònē</i>	<i>wùsònē</i>

The future forms are also used adnominally if the subject is not coreferent with its head noun.

Negated future

	<i>bīyā̄/kēmō̄</i> 'see'	<i>fō̄</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō̄/ōfō̄</i> 'come'	<i>mū̄/tār'ā̄</i> 'eat'	<i>dū̄/kēyū̄</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū̄</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīyānāwūzā̄</i>	<i>fónāwūzā̄</i>	<i>yōnāwūzā̄</i>	<i>mŭnāwūzā̄</i>	<i>dúnāwūzā̄</i>	— ⁴
2s	<i>bīyātāwūzā̄</i>	<i>fótāwūzā̄</i>	<i>yōtāwūzā̄</i>	<i>mŭtāwūzā̄</i>	<i>dútāwūzā̄</i>	—
2sPOL	<i>kémónīwūzā̄</i>	<i>fónīwūzā̄</i>	<i>ōfōnīwūzā̄</i>	<i>tār'ānīwūzā̄</i>	<i>kéyúnīwūzā̄</i>	—
3s	<i>bīyānāwūzā̄</i>	<i>fónāwūzā̄</i>	<i>yōnāwūzā̄</i>	<i>mŭnāwūzā̄</i>	<i>dúnāwūzā̄</i>	—
3sPOL	<i>kēmōnēwūzā̄</i>	<i>fònēwūzā̄</i>	<i>ōfōnēwūzā̄</i>	<i>tār'nēwūzā̄</i>	<i>kēyúnēwūzā̄</i>	—
1p	<i>bīyānīwūzā̄</i>	<i>fónīwūzā̄</i>	<i>yōnīwūzā̄</i>	<i>mŭnīwūzā̄</i>	<i>dúnīwūzā̄</i>	—
2p/END	<i>bīyātīwūzā̄</i>	<i>fótīwūzā̄</i>	<i>yōtīwūzā̄</i>	<i>mŭtīwūzā̄</i>	<i>dútīwūzā̄</i>	—
2pPOL	<i>kémsónīwūzā̄</i>	<i>fósónīwūzā̄</i>	<i>ōfsónīwūzā̄</i>	<i>tār'sónīwūzā̄</i>	<i>kéysónīwūzā̄</i>	—
3p	<i>bīyósónāwūzā̄</i>	<i>fósónāwūzā̄</i>	<i>yósónāwūzā̄</i>	<i>mūsónāwūzā̄</i>	<i>dūsónāwūzā̄</i>	—
3pPOL	<i>kémsónēwūzā̄</i>	<i>fòsònēwūzā̄</i>	<i>ōfsònēwūzā̄</i>	<i>tār'sònēwūzā̄</i>	<i>kéysònēwūzā̄</i>	—

The negated future forms are preceded by *àafá* (negative simple 3rd person singular feminine of *fō̄* 'be there, live'). The high tone at the end of that word causes a following low to be upstepped to mid (ASSIMILATION OF LOW TO MID, cf. section 2.6.3).

⁴ The negated future form of *wū̄* 'say' was judged ungrammatical by the informants.

Jussive/imperative						
	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bìyānā</i>	<i>fónā</i>	<i>yǒnā</i>	<i>mǔnā</i>	<i>dǔnā</i>	– ⁵
2s	<i>bī</i>	<i>fòo</i>	<i>yò</i>	<i>mǔ</i>	<i>dǔ</i>	–
2sPOL	<i>kēmōnì</i>	<i>fònì</i>	<i>ōfònì</i>	<i>tār'nì</i>	<i>kēyūnì</i>	–
3sf	<i>bīyūn</i>	<i>fòn</i>	<i>yòn</i>	<i>mùn</i>	<i>dūn</i>	–
3sm	<i>bìyó</i>	<i>fówó</i>	<i>yǒ</i>	<i>mùwó</i>	<i>dùwó</i>	–
3sPOL	<i>kémótó</i>	<i>fótó</i>	<i>òfótó</i>	<i>tār'tò</i>	<i>kéyútó</i>	–
1p	<i>bìyānī</i>	<i>fónī</i>	<i>yǒnī</i>	<i>mǔnī</i>	<i>dǔnī</i>	–
2p/END	<i>bìyātī</i>	<i>fòtì</i>	<i>yǒtī</i>	<i>mùtì</i>	<i>dǔtī</i>	–
2pPOL	<i>kémsōnì</i>	<i>fòsònì</i>	<i>ōfsōnì</i>	<i>tār'sònì</i>	<i>kéysōnì</i>	–
3pf	<i>bīyōn</i>	<i>fòsòn</i>	<i>yòsòn</i>	<i>mùsòn</i>	<i>dǔsòn</i>	–
3pm	<i>bìyówó</i>	<i>fósówó</i>	<i>yòsówó</i>	<i>mùsówó</i>	<i>dùsówó</i>	–
3pPOL	<i>kémsótó</i>	<i>fósótó</i>	<i>òfsótó</i>	<i>tār'sòtó</i>	<i>kēysótó</i>	–

⁵ The jussive/imperative form of *wū* 'say' was judged ungrammatical by the informants. It is replaced by the converb of *wū* 'say' and the jussive/imperative of *mǎkō* 'tell', e.g. *yìrà mǎkōn* 'let her say/tell'.

Prohibitive

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bìyānāatá</i>	<i>fónāatá</i>	<i>yǒnāatá</i>	<i>mǔnāatá</i>	<i>dǔnāatá</i>	– ⁶
2s	<i>bìyātāatá</i>	<i>fótāatá</i>	<i>yǒtāatá</i>	<i>mǔtāatá</i>	<i>dǔtāatá</i>	–
2sPOL	<i>kémónīitá</i>	<i>fónīitá</i>	<i>òfónīitá</i>	<i>tār'ànīitá</i>	<i>kéyúnīitá</i>	–
3s	<i>bìyānāatá</i>	<i>fónāatá</i>	<i>yǒnāatá</i>	<i>mǔnāatá</i>	<i>dǔnāatá</i>	–
3sPOL	<i>kēmōnēetá</i>	<i>fònēetá</i>	<i>ōfōnēetá</i>	<i>tār'nēetá</i>	<i>kēyūnēetá</i>	–
1p	<i>bìyānīitá</i>	<i>fónīitá</i>	<i>yǒnīitá</i>	<i>mǔnīitá</i>	<i>dǔnīitá</i>	–
2p/END	<i>bìyātīitá</i>	<i>fótīitá</i>	<i>yǒtīitá</i>	<i>mǔtīitá</i>	<i>dǔtīitá</i>	–
2pPOL	<i>kémsónīitá</i>	<i>fósónīitá</i>	<i>òfsónīitá</i>	<i>tār'sónīitá</i>	<i>kéysónīitá</i>	–
3p	<i>bìyónāatá</i>	<i>fósónāatá</i>	<i>yòsónāatá</i>	<i>mùsónāatá</i>	<i>dùsónāatá</i>	–
3pPOL	<i>kémsōnēetá</i>	<i>fósōnēetá</i>	<i>òfsōnēetá</i>	<i>tār'sōnēetá</i>	<i>kěysōnēetá</i>	–

⁶ The prohibitive form of *wū* 'say' was judged ungrammatical by the informants. It is replaced by the verb *mākō* 'tell'.

C.3. Dependent verb forms, realis

Adnominal

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'ā</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīinā</i>	<i>fànā</i>	<i>yànā</i>	<i>mǎnā</i>	<i>dīnā</i>	<i>yīnā</i>
2s	<i>bīitā</i>	<i>fātā</i>	<i>yātā</i>	<i>mǎtā</i>	<i>dītā</i>	<i>yītā</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménī</i>	<i>fànī</i>	<i>ěfénī</i>	<i>tār'nī</i>	<i>kéynī</i>	<i>yīnī</i>
3sf	<i>bīinā</i>	<i>fànā</i>	<i>yànā</i>	<i>mǎnā</i>	<i>dīnā</i>	<i>yīnā</i>
3sm	"	<i>fènā</i>	<i>yènā</i>	<i>měnā</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémété</i>	<i>fètē</i>	<i>ěfétē</i>	<i>tār'tē</i>	<i>kéytē</i>	<i>yìtē</i>
1p	<i>bīinī</i>	<i>fànī</i>	<i>yànī</i>	<i>mǎnī</i>	<i>dīnī</i>	<i>yīnī</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitī</i>	<i>fātī</i>	<i>yātī</i>	<i>mǎtī</i>	<i>dītī</i>	<i>yītī</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénī</i>	<i>fàsénī</i>	<i>ěfsénī</i>	<i>tār'sénī</i>	<i>kéysénī</i>	<i>yìsénī</i>
3pf	<i>bīisénā</i>	<i>fàsénā</i>	<i>yàsénā</i>	<i>màsénā</i>	<i>dìsénā</i>	<i>yìsénā</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsénā</i>	<i>yèsénā</i>	<i>mèsénā</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsété</i>	<i>fèsétē</i>	<i>ěfsétē</i>	<i>tār'sétē</i>	<i>kéysétē</i>	<i>yìsétē</i>

Adnominal, imperfective

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'ā</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīifànà</i>	<i>fāfànà</i>	<i>yāfànà</i>	<i>māfànà</i>	<i>dīfànà</i>	<i>yīfànà</i>
2s	<i>bīifàtà</i>	<i>fāfàtà</i>	<i>yāfàtà</i>	<i>māfàtà</i>	<i>dīfàtà</i>	<i>yīfàtà</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfèni</i>	<i>fāfèni</i>	<i>ēfēfèni</i>	<i>tār'fèni</i>	<i>kēyfèni</i>	<i>yìfèni</i>
3sf	<i>bīifànà</i>	<i>fāfànà</i>	<i>yāfànà</i>	<i>māfànà</i>	<i>dīfànà</i>	<i>yīfànà</i>
3sm	<i>bīfēnà</i>	<i>fēfēnà</i>	<i>yēfēnà</i>	<i>mēfēnà</i>	<i>dīfēnà</i>	<i>yīfēnà</i>
3sPOL	<i>kéméfé</i>	<i>fēfē</i>	<i>ēfēfé</i>	<i>tār'fē</i>	<i>kéyfé</i>	<i>yìfé</i>
1p	<i>bīifèni</i>	<i>fāfèni</i>	<i>yāfèni</i>	<i>māfèni</i>	<i>dīfèni</i>	<i>yìfèni</i>
2p/END	<i>bīifètì</i>	<i>fāfètì</i>	<i>yāfètì</i>	<i>māfètì</i>	<i>dīfètì</i>	<i>yìfètì</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfèni</i>	<i>fāfèni</i>	<i>ēfsēfèni</i>	<i>tār'sēfèni</i>	<i>kéysēfèni</i>	<i>yīsēfèni</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēfànà</i>	<i>fàsēfànà</i>	<i>yāfànà</i>	<i>màsēfànà</i>	<i>dīsēfànà</i>	<i>yīsēfànà</i>
3pm	<i>bīisēfēnà</i>	<i>fèsēfēnà</i>	<i>yēfēnà</i>	<i>mèsēfēnà</i>	<i>dīsēfēnà</i>	<i>yīsēfēnà</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémséfé</i>	<i>fèséfé</i>	<i>èfséfé</i>	<i>tār'séfé</i>	<i>kéyséfé</i>	<i>yìséfé</i>

The simple and imperfective adnominal forms are used if the subject is not coreferent with its head noun.

General converb

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s, 2s	<i>bīirā</i>	<i>fārā</i>	<i>yārā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>dīrā</i>	<i>yīrā</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmērā</i>	"	<i>ēfērā</i>	<i>tār'nī</i>	<i>kéyyā</i> ⁷	"
3sf	<i>bīirā</i>	"	<i>yārā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>dīrā</i>	"
3sm	<i>bīirē</i>	<i>fērē</i>	<i>yērē</i>	<i>mērē</i>	<i>dīrē</i>	<i>yīrē</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémérē</i>	"	<i>éfērē</i>	<i>tār'ē</i>	<i>kéyyē</i>	"
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīirā</i>	<i>fārā</i>	<i>yārā</i>	<i>mārā</i>	<i>dīrā</i>	<i>yīrā</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsērā</i>	<i>fàsērā</i>	<i>ēfsērā</i>	<i>tār'sērā</i>	<i>kéysērā</i>	<i>yīsērā</i>
3pf	<i>bīisērā</i>	"	<i>yàsērā</i>	<i>màsērā</i>	<i>dīsērā</i>	"
3pm	<i>bīisérē</i>	<i>fèsérē</i>	<i>yèsérē</i>	<i>mèsérē</i>	<i>dísérē</i>	<i>yísérē</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsérē</i>	"	<i>èfsérē</i>	<i>tār'sérē</i>	<i>kéysérē</i>	"

Different Subject converb

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīinā</i>	<i>fànā</i>	<i>yànā</i>	<i>mǎnā</i>	<i>dīnā</i>	<i>yīnā</i>
2s	<i>bīin</i>	<i>fàn</i>	<i>yēn</i>	<i>mēn</i>	<i>dīn</i>	<i>yīn</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménī</i>	<i>fànī</i>	<i>éfénī</i>	<i>tār'nī</i>	<i>kéynī</i>	<i>yīnī</i>
3s	<i>bīin</i>	<i>fēn</i>	<i>yēn</i>	<i>mēn</i>	<i>dīn</i>	<i>yīn</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémétēn</i>	<i>fètēn</i>	<i>éfétēn</i>	<i>tār'tēn</i>	<i>kéytēn</i>	<i>yītēn</i>
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīinī</i>	<i>fànī</i>	<i>yànī</i>	<i>mǎnī</i>	<i>dīnī</i>	<i>yīnī</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénī</i>	<i>fàsénī</i>	<i>èfsénī</i>	<i>tār'sénī</i>	<i>kéysénī</i>	<i>yísénī</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēn</i>	<i>fàsēn</i>	<i>yàsēn</i>	<i>māsēn</i>	<i>dīsēn</i>	<i>yīsēn</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsēn</i>	<i>yèsēn</i>	<i>mēsēn</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsétēn</i>	<i>fèsétēn</i>	<i>èfsétēn</i>	<i>tār'sétēn</i>	<i>kéysétēn</i>	<i>yìsétēn</i>

⁷ This converb form leads to the assumption of a variant *kēyā* besides *kēyū* for 'sit' (pol.).

Sequential converb, same subject

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s, 2s	<i>bīfāat</i>	<i>fāfāat</i>	<i>yāfāat</i>	<i>māfāat</i>	<i>dīfāat</i>	<i>yīfāat</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfāat</i>	"	<i>ēfēfāat</i>	<i>tār'fāat</i>	<i>kēyfāat</i>	"
3sf	<i>bīfāat</i>	"	<i>yāfāat</i>	<i>māfāat</i>	<i>dīfāat</i>	"
3sm	<i>bīfāat</i>	<i>fēfāat</i>	<i>yēfāat</i>	<i>mēfāat</i>	<i>dīfāat</i>	<i>yīfāat</i>
3sPOL	<i>kéméfāat</i>	"	<i>ēfēfāat</i>	<i>tār'fāat</i>	<i>kēyfāat</i>	"
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīfāat</i>	<i>fāfāat</i>	<i>yāfāat</i>	<i>māfāat</i>	<i>dīfāat</i>	<i>yīfāat</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfāat</i>	<i>fàsēfāat</i>	<i>ēfsēfāat</i>	<i>tār'sēfāat</i>	<i>kéysēfāat</i>	<i>yīsēfāat</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēfāat</i>	"	<i>yàsēfāat</i>	<i>màsēfāat</i>	<i>dīsēfāat</i>	"
3pm	<i>bīisēfāat</i>	<i>fèsēfāat</i>	<i>yèsēfāat</i>	<i>mèsēfāat</i>	<i>dīsēfāat</i>	<i>yīsēfāat</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsēfāat</i>	"	<i>ēfsēfāat</i>	<i>tār'sēfāat</i>	<i>kéysēfāat</i>	"

Sequential converb, different subject

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīfāanà</i>	– ⁸	<i>yāfāanà</i>	<i>māfāanà</i>	<i>dīfāanà</i>	<i>yīfāanà</i>
2s	<i>bīfāan</i>	–	<i>yāfāan</i>	<i>māfāan</i>	<i>dīfāan</i>	<i>yīfāan</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéméfāanī</i>	–	<i>ēfēfāanī</i>	<i>tār'fāanī</i>	<i>kēyfāanī</i>	<i>yīfāanī</i>
3sf	<i>bīfāan</i>	–	<i>yāfāan</i>	<i>māfāan</i>	<i>dīfāan</i>	<i>yīfāan</i>
3sm	<i>bīfāan</i>	–	<i>yēfāan</i>	<i>mēfāan</i>	<i>dīfāan</i>	<i>yīfāan</i>
3sPOL	<i>kéméfāatēn</i>	–	<i>ēfēfāatēn</i>	<i>tār'fāatēn</i>	<i>kēyfāatēn</i>	<i>yīfāatēn</i>
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīfāanī</i>	–	<i>yāfāanī</i>	<i>māfāanī</i>	<i>dīfāanī</i>	<i>yīfāanī</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfāanī</i>	–	<i>ēfsēfāanī</i>	<i>tār'sēfāanī</i>	<i>kéysēfāanī</i>	<i>yīsēfāanī</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēfāan</i>	–	<i>yàsēfāan</i>	<i>màsēfāan</i>	<i>dīsēfāan</i>	<i>yīsēfāan</i>
3pm	<i>bīisēfāan</i>	–	<i>yèsēfāan</i>	<i>mèsēfāan</i>	<i>dīsēfāan</i>	<i>yīsēfāan</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsēfāatēn</i>	–	<i>ēfsēfāatēn</i>	<i>tār'sēfāatēn</i>	<i>kéysēfāatēn</i>	<i>yīsēfāatēn</i>

⁸ The Sequential Different Subject converb form of *fō* 'be there, live' was judged ungrammatical by the informants.

Manner converb

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s, 2s	<i>bīyēt</i>	– ⁹	–	<i>māt</i>	<i>dīt</i>	<i>yīt</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēt</i>	–	–	<i>tār'èt</i>	<i>kēyīt</i>	"
3sf	<i>bīyēt</i>	–	–	<i>māt</i>	<i>dīt</i>	"
3sm	<i>bīyēt</i>	–	–	<i>mēt</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémēt</i>	–	–	<i>tār'ět</i>	<i>kéyīt</i>	"
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīyēt</i>	–	–	<i>māt</i>	<i>dīt</i>	"
2pPOL	<i>kémsēt</i>	–	–	<i>tār'sèt</i>	<i>kéysēt</i>	"
3pf	<i>bīyēt</i>	–	–	<i>māsēt</i>	<i>dīsēt</i>	"
3pm	<i>bīyēt</i>	–	–	<i>mèsēt</i>	<i>dīsēt</i>	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsēt</i>	–	–	<i>tār'sèt</i>	<i>kéysēt</i>	"

Simultaneous converb

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s, 2s	<i>bīfāt</i>	<i>fāfāt</i>	<i>yāfāt</i>	<i>māfāt</i>	<i>dīfāt</i>	<i>yīfāt</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfāt</i>	"	<i>ēfēfāt</i>	<i>tār'fāt</i>	<i>kēyfāt</i>	"
3sf	<i>bīfāt</i>	"	<i>yāfāt</i>	<i>māfāt</i>	<i>dīfāt</i>	"
3sm	<i>bīfēt</i>	<i>fēfēt</i>	<i>yēfēt</i>	<i>mēfēt</i>	<i>dīfēt</i>	<i>yīfēt</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémēfēt</i>	"	<i>ēfēfēt</i>	<i>tār'fēt</i>	<i>kéyfēt</i>	"
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīfāt</i>	<i>fāfāt</i>	<i>yāfāt</i>	<i>māfāt</i>	<i>dīfāt</i>	<i>yīfāt</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfāt</i>	<i>fàsēfāt</i>	<i>ēsēfāt</i>	<i>tār'sēfāt</i>	<i>kéysēfāt</i>	<i>yīsēfāt</i>
3pf	<i>bīfāt</i>	"	<i>yàsēfāt</i>	<i>màsēfāt</i>	<i>dīsēfāt</i>	"
3pm	<i>bīfēt</i>	<i>fèsēfēt</i>	<i>yèsēfēt</i>	<i>mèsēfēt</i>	<i>dīsēfēt</i>	<i>yīsēfēt</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsēfēt</i>	"	<i>ēsēfēt</i>	<i>tār'sēfēt</i>	<i>kéysēfēt</i>	"

⁹ The manner converb forms of *fō* 'be there, live' and *yō/ōfō* 'come' were judged ungrammatical by the informants. Nevertheless, the manner converb of *fō* is used in combination with the negative converb, cf. section 8.7.

Iterative converb

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tàr'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s, 2s	<i>bīyàafà</i>	<i>fàfāafà</i>	<i>yàfāafà</i>	<i>mà'àafà</i>	<i>dīfāafà</i>	<i>yīfāafà</i>
2sPOL	– ¹⁰	–	–	–	–	–
3sf	<i>bīyàafà</i>	<i>fàfāafà</i>	<i>yàfāafà</i>	<i>mà'àafà</i>	<i>dīfāafà</i>	<i>yīfāafà</i>
3sm	<i>bīyāafē</i>	<i>fèfāafē</i>	<i>yèfāafē</i>	<i>mē'āafē</i>	<i>dīfāafē</i>	<i>yīyāafē</i>
3sPOL	<i>kēmāafē</i>	"	<i>èféfāafē</i>	<i>tàr'āafē</i>	<i>kéyfāafē</i>	"
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīyàafà</i>	<i>fàfāafà</i>	<i>yàfāafà</i>	<i>mà'àafà</i>	<i>dīfāafà</i>	<i>yīfāafà</i>
2sPOL	–	–	–	–	–	–
3pf	–	–	–	–	–	–
3pm	–	–	–	–	–	–
3pPOL	<i>kémséfāafē</i>	<i>fèsèfāafē</i>	<i>èfséfāafē</i>	<i>tàr'sèfāafē</i>	<i>kéyséfāafē</i>	<i>yìséfāafē</i>

Some of the forms occur only f-marked. The others also have f-marked variants. Plural marking is only possible with the f-marked variants. Some forms can have *-t* instead of *-f*.

¹⁰ The missing forms in this table are due to gaps in the data.

General quasi-converb

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīinārè</i>	<i>fànārè</i>	<i>yànārè</i>	<i>mǎnārè</i>	<i>dīnārè</i>	<i>yīnārè</i>
2s	<i>bīitārè</i>	<i>fàtārè</i>	<i>yàtārè</i>	<i>mǎtārè</i>	<i>dītārè</i>	<i>yītārè</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménīrè</i>	<i>fànīrè</i>	<i>èfénīrè</i>	<i>tār'nīrè</i>	<i>kéynīrè</i>	<i>yīnīrè</i>
3sf	<i>bīinārè</i>	<i>fànārè</i>	<i>yànārè</i>	<i>mǎnārè</i>	<i>dīnārè</i>	<i>yīnārè</i>
3sm	"	<i>fènārè</i>	<i>yènārè</i>	<i>měnārè</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémētērè</i>	<i>fètērè</i>	<i>èfētērè</i>	<i>tār'tērè</i>	<i>kéytērè</i>	<i>yītērè</i>
1p	<i>bīinīrè</i>	<i>fànīrè</i>	<i>yànīrè</i>	<i>mǎnīrè</i>	<i>dīnīrè</i>	<i>yīnīrè</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitīrè</i>	<i>fàtīrè</i>	<i>yàtīrè</i>	<i>mǎtīrè</i>	<i>dītīrè</i>	<i>yītīrè</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénīrè</i>	<i>fàsénīrè</i>	<i>èfsénīrè</i>	<i>tār'sénīrè</i>	<i>kéysénīrè</i>	<i>yìsénīrè</i>
3pf	<i>bìsénārè</i>	<i>fàsénārè</i>	<i>yàsénārè</i>	<i>màsénārè</i>	<i>disénārè</i>	<i>yìsénārè</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsénārè</i>	<i>yèsénārè</i>	<i>mèsénārè</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsétērè</i>	<i>fèsétērè</i>	<i>èfsétērè</i>	<i>tār'sétērè</i>	<i>kéysétērè</i>	<i>yìsétērè</i>

General quasi-converb, different subject

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'ā</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīifànàrè</i>	<i>fàfànàrè</i>	<i>yàfànàrè</i>	<i>màfànàrè</i>	<i>dīfànàrè</i>	<i>yīfànàrè</i>
2s	<i>bīifàtārè</i>	<i>fàfàtārè</i>	<i>yàfàtārè</i>	<i>màfàtārè</i>	<i>dīfàtārè</i>	<i>yīfàtārè</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfènirè</i>	<i>fàfènirè</i>	<i>ěfēfènirè</i>	<i>tār'fènirè</i>	<i>kēyfènirè</i>	<i>yīfènirè</i>
3sf	<i>bīifànàrè</i>	<i>fàfànàrè</i>	<i>yàfànàrè</i>	<i>màfànàrè</i>	<i>dīfànàrè</i>	<i>yīfànàrè</i>
3sm	<i>bīifēnàrè</i>	<i>fēfēnàrè</i>	<i>yēfēnàrè</i>	<i>mēfēnàrè</i>	<i>dīfēnàrè</i>	<i>yīfēnàrè</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémēfērè</i>	<i>fēfērè</i>	<i>ěfēfērè</i>	<i>tār'fērè</i>	<i>kéyfērè</i>	<i>yīfērè</i>
1p	<i>bīifènirè</i>	<i>fàfènirè</i>	<i>yàfènirè</i>	<i>màfènirè</i>	<i>dīfènirè</i>	<i>yīfènirè</i>
2p/END	<i>bīifètirè</i>	<i>fàfètirè</i>	<i>yàfètirè</i>	<i>màfètirè</i>	<i>dīfètirè</i>	<i>yīfètirè</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfènirè</i>	<i>fàsēfènirè</i>	<i>ěfsēfènirè</i>	<i>tār'sēfènirè</i>	<i>kéysfènirè</i>	<i>yīsēfènirè</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēfànàrè</i>	<i>fàsēfànàrè</i>	<i>yàsēfànàrè</i>	<i>màsēfànàrè</i>	<i>dīsēfànàrè</i>	<i>yīsēfànàrè</i>
3pm	<i>bīisēfēnàrè</i>	<i>fèsēfēnàrè</i>	<i>yèsēfēnàrè</i>	<i>mèsēfēnàrè</i>	<i>dīsēfēnàrè</i>	<i>yīsēfēnàrè</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsēfērè</i>	<i>fèsēfērè</i>	<i>ěfsēfērè</i>	<i>tār'sēfērè</i>	<i>kéysētērè</i>	<i>yīsēfērè</i>

Temporal 1

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīinānnēen</i>	<i>fànānnēen</i>	<i>yànānnēen</i>	<i>mǎnānnēen</i>	<i>dīnānnēen</i>	<i>yīnānnēen</i>
2s	<i>bīitānnēen</i>	<i>fātānnēen</i>	<i>yātānnēen</i>	<i>mātānnēen</i>	<i>dītānnēen</i>	<i>yītānnēen</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménīnnēen</i>	<i>fànīnnēen</i>	<i>ěfénīnnēen</i>	<i>tār'nīnnēen</i>	<i>kéynīnnēen</i>	<i>yīnīnnēen</i>
3sf	<i>bīinānnēen</i>	<i>fànānnēen</i>	<i>yànānnēen</i>	<i>mǎnānnēen</i>	<i>dīnānnēen</i>	<i>yīnānnēen</i>
3sm	"	<i>fènānnēen</i>	<i>yènānnēen</i>	<i>měnānnēen</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémētēnnēen</i>	<i>fētēnnēen</i>	<i>ěfētēnnēen</i>	<i>tār'tēnnēen</i>	<i>kéytēnnēen</i>	<i>yītēnnēen</i>
1p	<i>bīinīnnēen</i>	<i>fànīnnēen</i>	<i>yànīnnēen</i>	<i>mǎnīnnēen</i>	<i>dīnīnnēen</i>	<i>yīnīnnēen</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitīnnēen</i>	<i>fātīnnēen</i>	<i>yātīnnēen</i>	<i>mātīnnēen</i>	<i>dītīnnēen</i>	<i>yītīnnēen</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénīnnēen</i>	<i>fàsénīnnēen</i>	<i>ěfsénīnnēen</i>	<i>tār'sénīnnēen</i>	<i>kéysénīnnēen</i>	<i>yìsénīnnēen</i>
3pf	<i>bīisénānnēen</i>	<i>fàsénānnēen</i>	<i>yàsénānnēen</i>	<i>màsénānnēen</i>	<i>disénānnēen</i>	<i>yìsénānnēen</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsénānnēen</i>	<i>yèsénānnēen</i>	<i>mèsénānnēen</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsétēnnēen</i>	<i>fèsétēnnēen</i>	<i>ěfsétēnnēen</i>	<i>tār'sétēnnēen</i>	<i>kéysétēnnēen</i>	<i>yìsétēnnēen</i>

Temporal 1, adversative

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīfànāānnēen</i>	<i>fāfànānnēen</i>	<i>yāfànānnēen</i>	<i>māfànānnēen</i>	<i>dīfànānnēen</i>	<i>yīfànānnēen</i>
2s	<i>bīfātānnēen</i>	<i>fāfātānnēen</i>	<i>yāfātānnēen</i>	<i>māfātānnēen</i>	<i>dīfātānnēen</i>	<i>yīfātānnēen</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfēninnēen</i>	<i>fāfēninnēen</i>	<i>ēfēfēninnēen</i>	<i>tār'fēninnēen</i>	<i>kēyfēninnēen</i>	<i>yīfēninnēen</i>
3sf	<i>bīfànānnēen</i>	<i>fāfànānnēen</i>	<i>yāfànānnēen</i>	<i>māfànānnēen</i>	<i>dīfànānnēen</i>	<i>yīfànānnēen</i>
3sm	<i>bīfēnānnēen</i>	<i>fēfēnānnēen</i>	<i>yēfēnānnēen</i>	<i>mēfēnānnēen</i>	<i>dīfēnānnēen</i>	<i>yīfēnānnēen</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémēfēnnēen</i>	<i>fēfēnnēen</i>	<i>ēfēfēnnēen</i>	<i>tār'fēnnēen</i>	<i>kēyfēnnēen</i>	<i>yīfēnnēen</i>
1p	<i>bīfēninnēen</i>	– ¹¹	<i>yāfēninnēen</i>	<i>māfēninnēen</i>	<i>dīfēninnēen</i>	<i>yīfēninnēen</i>
2p/END	<i>bīfētinnēen</i>	–	<i>yāfētinnēen</i>	<i>māfētinnēen</i>	<i>dīfētinnēen</i>	<i>yīfētinnēen</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfēninnēen</i>	–	<i>ēfsēfēninnēen</i>	<i>tār'sēfēninnēen</i>	<i>kéysēfēninnēen</i>	<i>yīsēfēninnēen</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēfànānnēen</i>	–	<i>yāfànānnēen</i>	<i>māsēfànānnēen</i>	<i>dīsēfànānnēen</i>	<i>yīsēfànānnēen</i>
3pm	<i>bīisēfēnānnēen</i>	–	<i>yēfēnānnēen</i>	<i>mēsēfēnānnēen</i>	<i>dīsēfēnānnēen</i>	<i>yīsēfēnānnēen</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsēfēnnēen</i>	–	<i>ēfsēfēnnēen</i>	<i>tār'sēfēnnēen</i>	<i>kéysēfēnnēen</i>	<i>yīsēfēnnēen</i>

¹¹ In the plural, the simple temporal 1 form was rendered by the informants.

Temporal 2

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīināysē</i>	<i>fànāysē</i>	<i>yànāysē</i>	<i>mǎnāysē</i>	<i>dīnāysē</i>	<i>yīnāysē</i>
2s	<i>bīitāysē</i>	<i>fàtāysē</i>	<i>yàtāysē</i>	<i>mǎtāysē</i>	<i>dītāysē</i>	<i>yītāysē</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménīisē</i>	<i>fànīisē</i>	<i>èfénīisē</i>	<i>tār'nīisē</i>	<i>kéynīisē</i>	<i>yīnīisē</i>
3sf	<i>bīināysē</i>	<i>fànāysē</i>	<i>yànāysē</i>	<i>mǎnāysē</i>	<i>dīnāysē</i>	<i>yīnāysē</i>
3sm	"	<i>fènāysē</i>	<i>yènāysē</i>	<i>měnnāysē</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémétēysē</i>	<i>fètēysē</i>	<i>èfétēysē</i>	<i>tār'tēysē</i>	<i>kéytēysē</i>	<i>yītēysē</i>
1p	<i>bīinīisē</i>	<i>fànīisē</i>	<i>yànīisē</i>	<i>mǎnīisē</i>	<i>dīnīisē</i>	<i>yīnīisē</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitīisē</i>	<i>fàtīisē</i>	<i>yàtīisē</i>	<i>mǎtīisē</i>	<i>dītīisē</i>	<i>yītīisē</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénīisē</i>	<i>fàsénīisē</i>	<i>èfsénīisē</i>	<i>tār'sénīisē</i>	<i>kéysénīisē</i>	<i>yìsénīisē</i>
3pf	<i>bīisénāysē</i>	<i>fàsénāysē</i>	<i>yàsénāysē</i>	<i>màsénāysē</i>	<i>dìsénāysē</i>	<i>yìsénāysē</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsénāysē</i>	<i>yèsénāysē</i>	<i>mèsénāysē</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsétēysē</i>	<i>fèsétēysē</i>	<i>èfsétēysē</i>	<i>tār'sétēysē</i>	<i>kéysétēysē</i>	<i>yìsétēysē</i>

Temporal 2, f-marked

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīifànàysē</i>	<i>fàfànàysē</i>	<i>yàfànàysē</i>	<i>màfànàysē</i>	<i>dīfànàysē</i>	<i>yīfànàysē</i>
2s	<i>bīifàtàysē</i>	<i>fàfàtàysē</i>	<i>yàfàtàysē</i>	<i>màfàtàysē</i>	<i>dīfàtàysē</i>	<i>yīfàtàysē</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfèniisē</i>	<i>fàfèniisē</i>	<i>ēfēfèniisē</i>	<i>tār'fèniisē</i>	<i>kēyfèniisē</i>	<i>yīfèniisē</i>
3sf	<i>bīifànàysē</i>	<i>fàfànàysē</i>	<i>yàfànàysē</i>	<i>màfànàysē</i>	<i>dīfànàysē</i>	<i>yīfànàysē</i>
3sm	<i>bīfēnàysē</i>	<i>fēfēnàysē</i>	<i>yēfēnàysē</i>	<i>mēfēnàysē</i>	<i>dīfēnàysē</i>	<i>yīfēnàysē</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémēfēysē</i>	<i>fēfēysē</i>	<i>ēfēfēysē</i>	<i>tār'fēysē</i>	<i>kēyfēysē</i>	<i>yīfēysē</i>
1p	<i>bīifèniisē</i>	<i>fàfèniisē</i>	<i>yàfèniisē</i>	<i>màfèniisē</i>	<i>dīfèniisē</i>	<i>yīfèniisē</i>
2p/END	<i>bīifètìisē</i>	<i>fàfètìisē</i>	<i>yàfètìysē</i>	<i>màfètìisē</i>	<i>dīfètìisē</i>	<i>yīfètìisē</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfèniisē</i>	<i>fàfèniisē</i>	<i>ēfsēfèniisē</i>	<i>tār'sèfèniisē</i>	<i>kéysēfèniisē</i>	<i>yīsēfèniisē</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēfànàysē</i>	<i>fàsēfànàysē</i>	<i>yàfànàysē</i>	<i>màfànàysē</i>	<i>dīisēfànàysē</i>	<i>yīsēfànàysē</i>
3pm	<i>bīiséfēnàysē</i>	<i>fèséfēnàysē</i>	<i>yéfēnàysē</i>	<i>méfēnàysē</i>	<i>dīiséfēnàysē</i>	<i>yīséfēnàysē</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémséfēysē</i>	<i>fèséfēysē</i>	<i>ēfséfēysē</i>	<i>tār'séfēysē</i>	<i>kéyséfēysē</i>	<i>yīséfēysē</i>

The f-marked temporal 2 is only used in combination with the counterfactual obligative or optative form of *shákū* 'not do' following it, thereby representing the negative counterpart of the counterfactual obligative (cf. section 6.2.7).

Conditional

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tàr'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>biifāanānē</i>	<i>fāfāanānē</i>	<i>yāfāanānē</i>	<i>māfāanānē</i>	<i>dīfāanānē</i>	<i>yifāanānē</i>
2s	<i>biifāatānē</i>	<i>fāfāatānē</i>	<i>yāfāatānē</i>	<i>māfāatānē</i>	<i>dīfāatānē</i>	<i>yifāatānē</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéméfāanīnē</i>	<i>fāfāanīnē</i>	<i>ēfēfāanīnē</i>	<i>tār'fāanīnē</i>	<i>kéyfāanīnē</i>	<i>yifāanīnē</i>
3sf	<i>biifāanānē</i>	<i>fāfāanānē</i>	<i>yāfāanānē</i>	<i>māfāanānē</i>	<i>dīfāanānē</i>	<i>yifāanānē</i>
3sm	"	<i>fēfāanānē</i>	<i>yēfāanānē</i>	<i>mēfāanānē</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kéméfāatēnē</i>	<i>fēfāatēnē</i>	<i>ēfēfāatēnē</i>	<i>tār'fāatēnē</i>	<i>kéyfāatēnē</i>	<i>yifāatēnē</i>
1p	<i>biifāanīnē</i>	<i>fāfāanīnē</i>	<i>yāfāanānīnē</i>	<i>māfāanīnē</i>	<i>dīfāanīnē</i>	<i>yifāanīnē</i>
2p/END	<i>biifāatīnē</i>	<i>fāfāatīnē</i>	<i>yāfāatīnē</i>	<i>māfāatīnē</i>	<i>dīfāatīnē</i>	<i>yifāatīnē</i>
2pPOL	<i>kéméséfāanīnē</i>	<i>fàséfāanīnē</i>	<i>ēséfāanīnē</i>	<i>tār'séfāanīnē</i>	<i>kéyséfāanīnē</i>	<i>yìséfāanīnē</i>
3pf	<i>biiséfāanānē</i>	<i>fàséfāanānē</i>	<i>yàséfāanānē</i>	<i>màséfāanānē</i>	<i>yìséfāanānē</i>	"
3pm	"	<i>fèséfāanānē</i>	<i>yèséfāanānē</i>	<i>mèséfāanānē</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémséfāatēnē</i>	<i>fèséfāatēnē</i>	<i>èséfāatēnē</i>	<i>tār'séfāatēnē</i>	<i>kéyséfāatēnē</i>	<i>yìséfāatēnē</i>

Complement form

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīināmātó</i>	<i>fànāmātó</i>	<i>yànāmātó</i>	<i>mǎnāmātó</i>	<i>dīnāmātó</i>	<i>yīnāmātó</i>
2s	<i>bīitāmātó</i>	<i>fàtāmātó</i>	<i>yàtāmātó</i>	<i>mǎtāmātó</i>	<i>dītāmātó</i>	<i>yītāmātó</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménīmātó</i>	<i>fànimātó</i>	<i>èfénīmātó</i>	<i>tàr'nīmātó</i>	<i>kéynīmātó</i>	<i>yīnīmātó</i>
3sf	<i>bīināmātó</i>	<i>fànāmātó</i>	<i>yànāmātó</i>	<i>mǎnāmātó</i>	<i>dīnāmātó</i>	<i>yīnāmātó</i>
3sm	"	<i>fènāmātó</i>	<i>yènāmātó</i>	<i>měnrè</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémétémātó</i>	<i>fètémātó</i>	<i>èfétémātó</i>	<i>tàr'témātó</i>	<i>kéytémātó</i>	<i>yìtémātó</i>
1p	<i>bīinīmātó</i>	<i>fànimātó</i>	<i>yànimātó</i>	<i>mǎnīmātó</i>	<i>dīnīmātó</i>	<i>yīnīmātó</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitīmātó</i>	<i>fàtimātó</i>	<i>yàtimātó</i>	<i>mǎtīmātó</i>	<i>dītīmātó</i>	<i>yītīmātó</i>
2pPOL	<i>kèmsènīmātó</i>	<i>fàsènīmātó</i>	<i>èfsènīmātó</i>	<i>tàr'sènīmātó</i>	<i>kéysènīmātó</i>	<i>yìsènīmātó</i>
3pf	<i>bīināmātó</i>	<i>fàsènāmātó</i>	<i>yàsènāmātó</i>	<i>màsènāmātó</i>	<i>disènāmātó</i>	<i>yìsènāmātó</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsènāmātó</i>	<i>yèsènāmātó</i>	<i>mèsènāmātó</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsétémātó</i>	<i>fèsètémātó</i>	<i>èfsétémātó</i>	<i>tàr'sètémātó</i>	<i>kéysétémātó</i>	<i>yìsétémātó</i>

Similative

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīināasīmātó</i>	<i>fànāasīmātó</i>	<i>yànāasīmātó</i>	<i>mǎnāasīmātó</i>	<i>dīnāasīmātó</i>	<i>yīnāasīmātó</i>
2s	<i>bīitāasīmātó</i>	<i>fàtāasīmātó</i>	<i>yàtāasīmātó</i>	<i>mǎtāasīmātó</i>	<i>dītāasīmātó</i>	<i>yītāasīmātó</i>
2sPOL	<i>kéménīisīmātó</i>	<i>fànīisīmātó</i>	<i>èfénīisīmātó</i>	<i>tār'nīsīmātó</i>	<i>kéynīisīmātó</i>	<i>yīnīisīmātó</i>
3sf	<i>bīināasīmātó</i>	<i>fànāasīmātó</i>	<i>yànāasīmātó</i>	<i>mǎnāasīmātó</i>	<i>dīnāasīmātó</i>	<i>yīnāasīmātó</i>
3sm	"	<i>fènāasīmātó</i>	<i>yènāasīmātó</i>	<i>měnāasīmātó</i>	"	"
3sPOL	<i>kémētēesīmātó</i>	<i>fètēesīmātó</i>	<i>èfētēesīmātó</i>	<i>tār'tēesīmātó</i>	<i>kéytēesīmātó</i>	<i>yītēesīmātó</i>
1p	<i>bīinīisīmātó</i>	<i>fànīisīmātó</i>	<i>yànīisīmātó</i>	<i>mǎnīisīmātó</i>	<i>dīnīisīmātó</i>	<i>yīnīisīmātó</i>
2p/END	<i>bīitiisīmātó</i>	<i>fàtiisīmātó</i>	<i>yàtiisīmātó</i>	<i>mǎtiisīmātó</i>	<i>dītiisīmātó</i>	<i>yītiisīmātó</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsénīisīmātó</i>	<i>fàsénīisīmātó</i>	<i>èfsénīisīmātó</i>	<i>tār'sénīisīmātó</i>	<i>kéysénīisīmātó</i>	<i>yìsénīisīmātó</i>
3pf	<i>bīināasīmātó</i>	<i>fàsēnāasīmātó</i>	<i>yàsēnāasīmātó</i>	<i>màsēnāasīmātó</i>	<i>dīnāasīmātó</i>	<i>yìsēnāasīmātó</i>
3pm	"	<i>fèsēnāasīmātó</i>	<i>yèsēnāasīmātó</i>	<i>mèsēnāasīmātó</i>	"	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsétēesīmātó</i>	<i>fèsétēesīmātó</i>	<i>èfsétēesīmātó</i>	<i>tār'sétēesīmātó</i>	<i>kéysétēesīmātó</i>	<i>yìsétēesīmātó</i>

Similative, imperfective

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīifànàasīmātó</i>	<i>fàfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>yàfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>màfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>dīfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>yìfànàasīmātó</i>
2s	<i>bīifàtàasīmātó</i>	<i>fàfàtàasīmātó</i>	<i>yàfàtàasīmātó</i>	<i>màfàtàasīmātó</i>	<i>dīfàtàasīmātó</i>	<i>yìfàtàasīmātó</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>fàfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>ěfèfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>tār'fèniisīmātó</i>	<i>kēyfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>yìfèniisīmātó</i>
3sf	<i>bīifànàasīmātó</i>	<i>fàfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>yàfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>màfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>dīfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>yìfànàasīmātó</i>
3sm	<i>bīifēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>fèfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>yèfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>měfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>dīfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>yìfēnàasīmātó</i>
3sPOL	<i>kéméfeesīmātó</i>	<i>fèfeesīmātó</i>	<i>ěféfeesīmātó</i>	<i>tār'feesīmātó</i>	<i>kéyfeesīmātó</i>	<i>yīfeesīmātó</i>
1p	<i>bīifèniisīmātó</i>	<i>fàfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>yàfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>màfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>dīfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>yìfèniisīmātó</i>
2p/END	<i>bīifètiisīmātó</i>	<i>fàfètiisīmātó</i>	<i>yàfètiisīmātó</i>	<i>màfètiisīmātó</i>	<i>dīfètiisīmātó</i>	<i>yìfètiisīmātó</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>fàsēfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>ěfsēfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>tār'sēfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>kéysfèniisīmātó</i>	<i>yìsēfèniisīmātó</i>
3pf	<i>bīifànàasīmātó</i>	<i>fàsēfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>yàfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>màfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>dīfànàasīmātó</i>	<i>yìsēfànàasīmātó</i>
3pm	<i>bīifēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>fèsēfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>yèfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>měfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>dīfēnàasīmātó</i>	<i>yìsēfēnàasīmātó</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémséfeesīmātó</i>	<i>fèsèfeesīmātó</i>	<i>ěfséfeesīmātó</i>	<i>tār'sèfeesīmātó</i>	<i>kéyséfeesīmātó</i>	<i>yìséfeesīmātó</i>

Concessive

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīifànàk</i>	<i>fàfànàk</i>	<i>yàfànàk</i>	<i>màfànàk</i>	<i>dīfànàk</i>	<i>yìfànàk</i>
2s	<i>bīifàtàk</i>	<i>fàfàtàk</i>	<i>yàfàtàk</i>	<i>màfàtàk</i>	<i>dīfàtàk</i>	<i>yìfàtàk</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmēfènìk</i>	<i>fàfènìk</i>	<i>ěfēfènìk</i>	<i>tār'fènìk</i>	<i>kēyfènìk</i>	<i>yìfènìk</i>
3sf	<i>bīifànàk</i>	<i>fàfànàk</i>	<i>yàfànàk</i>	<i>màfànàk</i>	<i>dīfànàk</i>	<i>yìfànàk</i>
3sm	<i>bīfēnàk</i>	<i>fēfēnàk</i>	<i>yēfēnàk</i>	<i>mēfēnàk</i>	<i>dīfēnàk</i>	<i>yīfēnàk</i>
3sPOL	<i>kéméfēk</i>	<i>fēfēk</i>	<i>ěfēfēk</i>	<i>tār'fēk</i>	<i>kéyfēk</i>	<i>yīfēk</i>
1p	<i>bīifènìk</i>	<i>fàfènìk</i>	<i>yàfènìk</i>	<i>màfènìk</i>	<i>dīfènìk</i>	<i>yìfènìk</i>
2p/END	<i>bīifètìk</i>	<i>fàfètìk</i>	<i>yàfètìk</i>	<i>màfètìk</i>	<i>dīfètìk</i>	<i>yìfètìk</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsēfènìk</i>	<i>fàsēfènìk</i>	<i>ěfsēfènìk</i>	<i>tār'sēfènìk</i>	<i>kéysēfènìk</i>	<i>yīsēfènìk</i>
3pf	<i>bīisēfànàk</i>	<i>fàsēfànàk</i>	<i>yàsēfànàk</i>	<i>màsēfànàk</i>	<i>dīisēfànàk</i>	<i>yīsēfànàk</i>
3pm	<i>bīisēfēnàk</i>	<i>fèsēfēnàk</i>	<i>yèsēfēnàk</i>	<i>mèsēfēnàk</i>	<i>dīisēfēnàk</i>	<i>yìsēfēnàk</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémséfēk</i>	<i>fèséfēk</i>	<i>ěfséfēk</i>	<i>tār'séfēk</i>	<i>kéyséfēk</i>	<i>yìséfēk</i>

C.4. Dependent verb forms, irrealis

Negative converb

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s, 2s	<i>bīinǒy</i>	–	<i>yònǒy</i>	<i>mùnǒy</i>	<i>dūnǒy</i>	<i>wùnǒy</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmōnǒy</i>	–	<i>ěfōnǒy</i>	<i>tār'nǒy</i>	<i>kēyūnǒy</i>	"
3s	<i>bīinǒy</i>	–	<i>yònǒy</i>	<i>mùnǒy</i>	<i>dūnǒy</i>	"
3sPOL	<i>kēmōnǒy</i>	–	<i>ěfōnǒy</i>	<i>tār'nǒy</i>	<i>kēynǒy</i>	"
1p, 2p/END	<i>bīinǒy</i>	–	<i>yònǒy</i>	<i>mùnǒy</i>	<i>dūnǒy</i>	"
2pPOL	<i>kémsōnǒy</i>	–	<i>ěfsōnǒy</i>	<i>tār'sònǒy</i>	<i>kéysōnǒy</i>	<i>wùsònǒy</i>
3p	<i>bīinǒy</i>	–	<i>yòsònǒy</i>	<i>mùsònǒy</i>	<i>dūsònǒy</i>	"
3pPOL	<i>kémsōnǒy</i>	–	<i>ěfsōnǒy</i>	<i>tār'sònǒy</i>	<i>kéysōnǒy</i>	"

Temporal 1, terminative

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tàr'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bìyānānnēen</i>	<i>fónānnēen</i>	<i>yōnānnēen</i>	<i>mŭnānnēen</i>	<i>dŭnānnēen</i>	<i>wūnānnēen</i>
2s	<i>bìyātānnēen</i>	<i>fótānnēen</i>	<i>yōtānnēen</i>	<i>mŭtānnēen</i>	<i>dŭtānnēen</i>	<i>wūtānnēen</i>
2sPOL	<i>kémónīnnēen</i>	<i>fónīnnēen</i>	<i>éfónīnnēen</i>	<i>tàr'ànīnnēen</i>	<i>kéyúnīnnēen</i>	<i>wūnīnnēen</i>
3s	<i>bìyānānnēen</i>	<i>fónānnēen</i>	<i>yōnānnēen</i>	<i>mŭnānnēen</i>	<i>dŭnānnēen</i>	<i>wūnānnēen</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémónēnnēen</i>	<i>fónēnnēen</i>	<i>éfónēnnēen</i>	<i>tàr'ànēnnēen</i>	<i>kéyūnēnnēen</i>	<i>wūnēnnēen</i>
1p	<i>bìyānīnnēen</i>	<i>fónīnnēen</i>	<i>yōnīnnēen</i>	<i>mŭnīnnēen</i>	<i>dŭnīnnēen</i>	<i>wūnīnnēen</i>
2p/END	<i>bìyātīnnēen</i>	<i>fótīnnēen</i>	<i>yōtīnnēen</i>	<i>mŭtīnnēen</i>	<i>dŭtīnnēen</i>	<i>wūtīnnēen</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsónīnnēen</i>	<i>fósónīnnēen</i>	<i>èfsónīnnēen</i>	<i>tàr'ònīnnēen</i>	<i>kéwsónīnnēen</i>	<i>wùsónīnnēen</i>
3p	<i>bìsónānnēen</i>	<i>fòsònānnēen</i>	<i>yòsónānnēen</i>	<i>mùsónānnēen</i>	<i>dùsónānnēen</i>	<i>wùsónānnēen</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsónēnnēen</i>	<i>fósónēnnēen</i>	<i>èfsónēnnēen</i>	<i>tàr'sònēnnēen</i>	<i>kéyúsónēnnēen</i>	<i>wùsónēnnēen</i>

Negative conditional

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tàr'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīinōynāròn</i>	<i>fònōynāròn</i>	<i>yònōynāròn</i>	<i>mùnōynāròn</i>	<i>dūnōynāròn</i>	<i>wùnōynāròn</i>
2s	<i>bīinōytāròn</i>	<i>fònōytāròn</i>	<i>yònōytāròn</i>	<i>mùnōytāròn</i>	<i>dūnōytāròn</i>	<i>wùnōytāròn</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmōnōynīròn</i>	<i>fònōynīròn</i>	<i>éfōnōynīròn</i>	<i>tàr'nōynīròn</i>	<i>kēyūnōynīròn</i>	<i>wùnōynīròn</i>
3s	<i>bīinōynāròn</i>	<i>fònōynāròn</i>	<i>yònōynāròn</i>	<i>mùnōynāròn</i>	<i>dūnōynāròn</i>	<i>wùnōynāròn</i>
3sPOL	<i>kēmōnōytēròn</i>	<i>fónóytēròn</i>	<i>éfónóytēròn</i>	<i>tàr'nōytēròn</i>	<i>—¹²</i>	<i>wùnōytēròn</i>
1p	<i>bīinōynīròn</i>	<i>fònōynīròn</i>	<i>yònōynīròn</i>	<i>mùnōynīròn</i>	<i>dūnōynīròn</i>	<i>wùnōynīròn</i>
2p/END	<i>bīinōytīròn</i>	<i>fònōytīròn</i>	<i>yònōytīròn</i>	<i>mùnōytīròn</i>	<i>dūnōytīròn</i>	<i>wùnōytīròn</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémósōnōynīròn</i>	<i>fòsònōynīròn</i>	<i>òfsōnōynīròn</i>	<i>tàr'sònōynīròn</i>	<i>kéwúsōnōynīròn</i>	<i>wùsōnōynīròn</i>
3p	<i>bīyōnōynāròn</i>	<i>fòsònōynāròn</i>	<i>yòsònōynāròn</i>	<i>mùsònōynāròn</i>	<i>dùsònōynāròn</i>	<i>wùsònōynāròn</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémósōnōytēròn</i>	<i>fòsònōytēròn</i>	<i>òfsònōytēròn</i>	<i>tàr'sònōytēròn</i>	<i>kéwúsónóytēròn</i>	<i>wùsònōytēròn</i>

¹² Missing data.

Purposive

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bìyānāk</i>	<i>fónāk</i>	<i>yōnāk</i>	<i>mŭnāk</i>	<i>dŭnāk</i>	<i>wūnāk</i>
2s	<i>bìyātāk</i>	<i>fótāk</i>	<i>yōtāk</i>	<i>mŭtāk</i>	<i>dŭtāk</i>	<i>wūtāk</i>
2sPOL	<i>kémónīk</i>	<i>fónīk</i>	<i>èfónīk</i>	<i>tār'ànīk</i>	<i>kéyúnīk</i>	<i>wūnīk</i>
3s	<i>bìyānāk</i>	<i>fónāk</i>	<i>yōnāk</i>	<i>mŭnāk</i>	<i>dŭnāk</i>	<i>wūnāk</i>
3sPOL	<i>kémónēk</i>	<i>fónēk</i>	<i>èfónēk</i>	<i>tār'nēk</i>	<i>kéyúnēk</i>	<i>wūnēk</i>
1p	<i>bìyānīk</i>	<i>fónīk</i>	<i>yōnīk</i>	<i>mŭnīk</i>	<i>dŭnīk</i>	<i>wūnīk</i>
2p/END	<i>bìyātīk</i>	<i>fótīk</i>	<i>yōtīk</i>	<i>mŭtīk</i>	<i>dŭtīk</i>	<i>wūtīk</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsónīk</i>	<i>fòsònīk</i>	<i>òfsónīk</i>	<i>tār'sònīk</i>	<i>kéwúsónīk</i>	<i>wùsónīk</i>
3p	<i>bìyónāk</i>	<i>fósónāk</i>	<i>yòsónāk</i>	<i>mùsónāk</i>	<i>dùsónāk</i>	<i>wùsónāk</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsónēk</i>	<i>fósónēk</i>	<i>òfsónēk</i>	<i>tār'sònēk</i>	<i>kéyúsónēk</i>	<i>wùsónēk</i>

Negative purposive

	<i>bīyā/kēmō</i> 'see'	<i>fō</i> 'be there, live'	<i>yō/ōfō</i> 'come'	<i>mū/tār'à</i> 'eat'	<i>dū/kēyū</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>wū</i> 'say'
1s	<i>bīnōynāmātó</i>	<i>fònōynāmātó</i>	<i>yònōynāmātó</i>	<i>mùnōynāmātó</i>	<i>dùnōynāmātó</i>	<i>wùnōynāmātó</i>
2s	<i>bīnōytāmātó</i>	<i>fònōytāmātó</i>	<i>yònōytāmātó</i>	<i>mùnōytāmātó</i>	<i>dùnōytāmātó</i>	<i>wùnōytāmātó</i>
2sPOL	<i>kēmōnōynīmātó</i>	<i>fònōynīmātó</i>	<i>èfónónīmātó</i>	<i>tār'nōynīmātó</i>	<i>kéyúnónynīmātó</i>	<i>wùnōynīmātó</i>
3s	<i>bīnōynāmātó</i>	<i>fònōynāmātó</i>	<i>yònōynāmātó</i>	<i>mùnōynāmātó</i>	<i>dùnōynāmātó</i>	<i>wùnōynāmātó</i>
3sPOL	<i>kēmōnōytemātó</i>	<i>fònōytemātó</i>	<i>èfónóytemātó</i>	<i>tār'nōytemātó</i>	<i>kéyúnōytemātó</i>	<i>wùnōytemātó</i>
1p	<i>bīnōynīmātó</i>	<i>fònōynīmātó</i>	<i>yònōynīmātó</i>	<i>mùnōynīmātó</i>	<i>dùnōynīmātó</i>	<i>wùnōynīmātó</i>
2p/END	<i>bīnōytemātó</i>	<i>fònōytemātó</i>	<i>yònōytemātó</i>	<i>mùnōytemātó</i>	<i>dùnōytemātó</i>	<i>wùnōytemātó</i>
2pPOL	<i>kémsōnōynīmātó</i>	<i>fòsònōynīmātó</i>	<i>èfsōnōynīmātó</i>	<i>tār'sònōynīmātó</i>	<i>kéysōnōynīmātó</i>	<i>wùsònōynīmātó</i>
3p	<i>bīsonóynāmātó</i>	<i>fòsònōynāmātó</i>	<i>yòsònōynāmātó</i>	<i>mùsònōynāmātó</i>	<i>dùsonóynāmātó</i>	<i>wùsònōynāmātó</i>
3pPOL	<i>kémsōnōytemātó</i>	<i>fòsònōytemātó</i>	<i>èfsónóytemātó</i>	<i>tār'sònōytemātó</i>	<i>kéysōnōytemātó</i>	<i>wùsònōytemātó</i>

C.4. Dependent verb forms, irrealis

D. Vocabulary

This vocabulary is intended for quick reference, not as a comprehensive lexicon. All Yemsa words of my own database are included, but since I draw on the Schaumberger (MSb) lexicon, secondary meanings of entries that I did not check myself are included here and there.

The citation form of the verbs is the verbal noun.

For gender-marked adjectives and nouns the masculine form is cited under the main entry, which is the feminine one.

A - a

àbà <i>n</i> father	àgū <i>v</i> do
àbdī <i>n</i> hope, wish borrowed from Oromo	àjājī <i>n</i> order, command borrowed from Oromo
àchēech <i>num</i> four var. hàchēech	àjàjō <i>v</i> order, command var. hàjàjō borrowed from Oromo
àchēech àsir <i>num</i> forty var. hàchēech àsir	àkā <i>n</i> 1. water 2. river (small) pol. kop'a
àfà <i>n</i> grandmother	àkām <i>adj</i> big (man) <i>n</i> elder
àfā'ā <i>n</i> place to pass the night	àkāmā <i>adj</i> much, abundant, a lot of masc. àkām
àfā'ō <i>v</i> sleep, slumber var. hàfā'ō pol. gigitto	àkāmānò <i>adv</i> very
àfā'y <i>n</i> sleep, slumber pol. gigitto	ákó <i>n</i> rooster
àgādō <i>n</i> 1. tool (used in ensete processing) 2. name of clan	ákō <i>n</i> chicken, hen
àgèwā <i>n</i> kind of barley var. hàgèwā	àlàk'ā <i>n</i> calf (young of cow) var. ànk'ālā, hànk'ālā
	àlbū <i>n</i> bangle (for ankle) borrowed from Amharic
	àldà <i>adj</i> 1. difficult 2. left (direction) var. hàldà masc. àlìd

D. Vocabulary

àmālā *n* character, nature
borrowed from Oromo

àmàmà *n* red onion

àmnò *n* title of Yem king

àmmà *adj* visible, clear, obvious

ànè *adv* together, along with
var. hànè

àngàchā *n* 1. cat, she-cat 2. long nail
used for nailing the coffin
var. hàngàchā

àngàchá *n* tom cat

ápún *int* how many?

àppiyō *n* small bean
var. hàppiyō

árbī *n* Wednesday
borrowed from Oromo

àrgā *n* turn

àrgà *n* collaborator

àrgàsū *v* help, assist

àrgawō *v* work in collaboration

àrī kàsà *n* vulture

árkéwā *n* juniper tree
var. hárkéwā

àrkīr *n* elder, older

àrkittō *v* show off, be boastful

àrkū *v* become big, exceed

àrk'ār *adj* male
var. hàrk'ār, àt'k'ār

ármétā *n* butterfly
var. hármétā

àrū *v* know, learn
pol. àzzū
n knowledge, understanding, comprehension
adj wise

àsì *adv* together

àsìr *num* ten
borrowed from Amharic

àsìrè àchēecchē *num* fourteen

àsìrè hèppè *num* twelve
var. àsìrè èppè

àsìrè ìssè *num* eleven

àsìrè ìssùnē *num* sixteen

àsìrè ìzgìnè *num* nineteen

àsìrè kèezè *num* thirteen

àsìrè nàngnè *num* eighteen

àsìrè nàafùnē *num* seventeen

àsìrè úcchē *num* fifteen

àstésēr *n* minister

àsù *n* person, man, human being (masc.)

àsū *n* 1. woman, wife 2. species of ensete

ássā *n* 1. moon 2. month

ássmà *n* kind of game played at circumcision time, children's game

àssū *v* 1. acquaint, inform, teach 2. explain, describe
n notice, information

àshà *n* meat
var. hàshà

àtěr *n* younger one
var. hàtěr

àtō *v* become smaller, be less
var. hàtō

àtū *n* body
var. hàtū
pol. gàmshō

áttū *n* pea
var. háttū

áttūnì bùwà *n* thickening (powdered
bean or chick pea), mush made of
peas

āw *int* what?

àw *adj* big, great (in size) (masc.)

āw āgāan *int* why?

àwà *n* sun

àwàas *n* god, deity

àwjā *adj* lazy
masc. àwjà

āwk *int* with what?

āwnìrò *int* why?

āwnīi *int* of what?

āy *int* where?

ày *n* brother

àzzū *v* know, learn (pol.)

à'à cf. hà'yà

à'yà cf. hà'yà

Aa - aa

āachō *v* hide (itr.) *adj* hidden, con-
cealed, secret

āachū *v* hide (tr.)

āafā *n* 1. eye, face 2. top circle on the roof
pol. kēmā

àafá *part v* 1. there is not, she is not
around 2. no

āafē *part v* he is not around

āafnì shè'sū *v* be/become furious, en-
raged *n* great anger, rage

āaffār *int* which one?

āagē *int* when?

āakkā *int* how?

àamà *n* mountain

àatà *v* 1. (let) (sth.) pass by 2. become
round 3. stay (somewhere), last 4.
die (pol.)

āatē *part* what happened

àatū *v* let pass, forward

àa'à *v* divide (a total), distribute, share

àa'ō *v* 1. divide into equal parts 2. take
part
var. hàa'ō

D. Vocabulary

B - b

bàgà *v* divide, share

bàgàdō *v* crawl

bàgō *v* divide, divide up, partition

bār *pron* she
pol. bàas

bār *pron* he
pol. bàas

bārā *n* date, epoch
borrowed from Oromo

bàràsō *v* crumble (*k'och'o* (ensete bread))

bàrì *pron* her (poss.)
pol. bàasì

bàrìkìtō *pron* they (fem.)
var. bàrìkì'ō
pol. bàassō

bàrìkìtōnì *pron* their (fem.)
var. bàrìkì'ōnì
pol. bàassō

bāsā *pron* his
pol. bàasì

bāsākìtō *pron* they (masc.)
var. bāsākì'ō
pol. bàassō

bāsākìtōnī *pron* their (masc.)
var. bāsākì'ōnī
pol. bàassō

bàwō *n* 1. wooden cross-like center piece of the roof of a traditional house 2. round disc of wood 3. name of clan

bà'ō *n* load
borrowed from Oromo?

bàakūrā *n* star

bàas *pron* He/She (pol.)

bàasì *pron* His/Her (pol.)

bàassō *pron* 1. They (pol.) 2. Their (pol.)

bàatkāl *n* place of worship

bàazā *n* peace, calm, stillness

bècchū *v* taste

bèrbētā *n* mushroom

bèstō *v* be found, be situated

bèsū *v* show, display

bèttō *n* riot, brawl *v* happen suddenly

bèyà *v* cease, refuse

bèerbà *n* black pepper

bèerbàsū *n* hydromel, mead

bèer'ō *n* axe

bèezà *adj* brave, heroic, courageous
masc. bèez
n courage, bravery, valour

bìrātō *v* go around, turn around, rotate
n 1. race (in a contest) 2. circumference, surrounding area, circuit 3. scratch, stroke (in writing), dash, accent (mark)

bìrgìnyà *adj* fat
masc. bìrgìny

bīrū *v* wrap a scarf, wind *n* turban, head-band

bĩrrĩ *n* birr (currency), silver
borrowed from Amharic

bittā 1. iron, metal 2. gun, rifle

bīyā *v* see, look, look at
pol. kēmō

bī'ā *n* fresh milk

bizō *adj* persistent, pigheaded
masc. bīzō

bīistō *v* be/become seen

bīishà *n* brown or black beetle

bòchà *v* clap, clap hands *n* slap

bōchō *adj* ensete dough colour

bòdà *n* kind of hoe

bògà *n* top, edge, tip

bōgā *v* tear down (house), demolish

bòkà *n* distance

bōkō *v* disperse, scatter, break up

bòk'òlō *n* maize
borrowed from Amharic

bōrsā *n* pocket, bag
borrowed from Amharic

bōstō *v* eat, consume (roy.)

bōssū *v* 1. oppress, enslave 2. feed

bōtō *n* bee

bòwō *adj* bald

bò'à *n* kidnapping (of a girl to marry her)

bō'ā *v* bark (dog) *n* cabbage

bò'ō *v* 1. rob, take by force 2. kidnap (a girl to marry her)

bò'sū *v* boil (water)

bōzā *n* slave
masc. bōz

bòodà *n* greenness, verdure *v* grow (plant) (itr.)

bōodā *adj* green (grass)

bōodō *v* grow (grass) (itr.)

bòojō *v* take prisoner in a war, capture
borrowed from Oromo

bòor'à *n* cause, sin

būdū *adj* cut off, definite
masc. bùdú
n piece, slice, stub, slab, strip

bùkà *adj* dapple, striped, spotted, speckled (mostly animals)
masc. bùk

būkā *v* 1. sow, seed, plant, grow 2. strew

bùkàlsū *v* roll

bùkō *n* germinating seeds

bùkúchā *v* clear the ground from roots, flatten the ground

būldīmā *n* cultivated field

bùlínnyá *n* farmer (masc.)

būlō *v* plough, till the land, cultivate the land, farm *n* cultivated field, farm, plantation, agriculture

bùllūkō *n* traditional cotton blanket
borrowed from Amharic, Oromo

būnā *n* 1. coffee, coffee bean 2. olive tree
borrowed from Amharic

D. Vocabulary

bùrō *v* 1. speak, tell, talk (pol.) 2. feed a sick person *n* 1. mouth, lip (pol.) 2. special food for a sick person

bùròsū *v* feed a sick person

bùssà *adj* private, personal (matter, property), individual
var. bùssùn

būtō *v* kidnap, hijack *n* hijacking, abduction
borrowed from Oromo

bùwà *n* 1. flour (any kind) 2. food usually made from roasted barley flour

bù'lō *n* mule
roy. dīrō

bù'sà *n* very young children (pl) *adj* thin, fine
masc. bùur'ùs

būunnyō *v* become turbid, get muddy

būurū *v* roar, belch, burp

būur'ū *n* forest, woods

būu'yā *v* 1. mow grass, cut grass 2. scratch (with fingernails), prick (with claws)
var. būu'ā

Ch - ch

chàkchàkū *n* ginger

chāmā *n* mud

chànngū *adj* weak *n* weakling

chà'mā *n* shoe
var. ch'àammā
borrowed from Amharic

cháagā *v* shout, yell, scream *n* scream, shout, cry, yell, noise, howl

cháalā *adj* best, better
masc. cháal

borrowed from Oromo

cháarō *v* 1. be midmorning, become late in the morning 2. burn (light), be/become lit, light up, shine

cháassū *v* 1. get late in the morning (person), spend the morning 2. shine, light, put on light

chīmà *v* 1. be/become able, have the ability to, can 2. become expensive *n* inflation (price) *adj* 1. costly, expensive, dear, precious, high (in price) 2. robust, strong, hard, firm
masc. chīm

chīmō *adj* having chubby legs, muscles
masc. chímó

chìrō *adj* 1. green, blue 2. dark brown (person's complexion)
masc. chìrò

chìrō ùsā *n* dark (black) kind of *k'och'o* (ensete bread)

chòkū *v* cry, weep, lament, mourn a dead person (pol.)

chòlà *adj* weak, feeble, weary
masc. chòl

chōwā *n* affair, matter, business, problem

chòorbū *adj* lazy, feeble, indolent (women only)

Ch' - ch'

ch'áatī *n* khat
borrowed from Amharic

D - d

dà *n* 1. soil, earth, ground, land, floor 2. world 3. country, nation, territory, land

dādā *v* erect a wall, erect the wooden skeleton of a building *n* wooden poles (inside a wall), wooden skeleton of a building *n* name of clan

dàk *adv* there

dālgē *n* stool for children
borrowed from Oromo

dànà *v* get, obtain, gain, find

dàrà *n* people
borrowed from Oromo?

dàwō *n* communal labour group, work team *v* prepare for team work, call people to work
borrowed from Amharic?

dàysū *v* add, increase

dà'ā *n* kind of food

dàabīyō *adj* shy, humble, submissive, bashful
masc. dàabiyó

dàadō *n* communal labour *v* work together
borrowed from Oromo

dāagā *adj* foolish, silly
masc. dāag

dāagō *v* forget
pol. tīgū

dàakàlō *adv loc* below

dāaksū *v* take (sb.'s) attention from (sth.)

dāamō *n* big clay gourd (for milk, water)

dāamō *n* kiss

dàar'à *n* juice

dèdō *v* make a noise *n* 1. thunder, thunderstorm 2. sound, noise

dèn *dem adv* on, upon, above, up

dènàlō *adv loc* on top of above, over

dènsō *adj* high, elevated, major *v* leave

dèy *part* also, furthermore, besides, moreover, again

dìchā *n* 1. stream, big river 2. height

dìchà *adj* tall, high
masc. dìch
v grow, grow up *n* divorced woman

dìchū *v* make grow, bring up a child

dìgō *v* fear, be/become fearful, be frightened

dìksū bad, ugly, grotesque
masc. dìksù
var. dìskū
masc. dìskù

dīmā *n* place, spot, area, site

dìskù cf. dìksù

dìskū cf. dìksū

D. Vocabulary

- dīyà** *n* buttock, bottom *postp* under
pol. dōlà
- dīink'ī** *adj* unexpected, sudden, by
chance, amazing *n* miracle
- dīink'ō** *v* be/become admirable
borrowed from Oromo
- dīistō** *v* be seated
- dōgō** *adj* dirty, unclean (clothes)
- dōkū** *n* cockroach
- dòo'à** *n* hole, pit, well
- dū** *v* sit, sit down, stay
pol. kēwū
- dùgnō** *n* corpse (human)
- dùkū** *v* dip, dunk
- dūngū** *adj* blunt (point, sharp edge)
- dùpà** *v* sting, bite (bee, hen, snake)
- dùpō** *v* hunt, go hunting *n* hunt, hunting
- dùsō** *v* be/become injured, be/become
wounded *n* 1. injured one, wounded
one
masc. dùsò
2. wound *adj* injured
masc. dùsò
- dùudà** *n* kind of antelope, gazelle
masc. dùud
- dùudō** *v* 1. try 2. practise, train (itr.) *n*
test, attempt, trial
- dūumā** *n* bushbuck, antelope
masc. dūum
- dùusū** *v* fix, repair (door) *v* place in up-
right position, set (date)

E - e

- ēfō** cf. òfō
- ék** *dem* that (far away but visible)
- ékálō** *adv loc* there, toward there
- éksō** *v* move off, get out of the way
- èkkā** *adv* like this
- èlìngà** *adj* 1. curved, hunched, bent 2.
foolish, crazy
masc. èlǐng
- èlkèchā** *adj* cripple, handicapped
masc. élkéch
- èlkèchà** *v* be/become handicapped
- èngitā** *adj* limp, lame
masc. èngīt *v* limp, be/become lame
- èp'à** *v* 1. receive, take, catch 2. marry
(men)
var. hèp'à, òp'à
pol. kúshō
- érbē** *n* pieces of cloth
borrowed from Oromo
- èrwū** *v* curse
- és** *dem* that (invisible)
- és kābāasīk** *adv temp* at that time
- ésā** *n* 1. fur 2. hair on arms and legs
(man)
- ésbàrì bòor'à** *conj* therefore
- èsé** *part* take it! here you are!
- ésīsīmātó** *adv* for example, like that
- ésō** *adj* hairy *int* who are you?

éshā *v* 1. deceive, cheat, swindle, pretend
2. set traps *adj* false, wrong *n* lie

éshínnyā *adj* false, wrong
masc. éshínnyá

étū *v* cook in water, boil

ēwā *n* ensete

è'sō *n* 1. morning 2. former days, ancient times
var. è'isō

Ee - ee

èebbà *n* blessing, good wishes
borrowed from Oromo

èebbīsū *v* bless, thank
borrowed from Oromo

èelà *v* 1. run 2. flee, run away

èelsū *v* let run, chase

èerā *n* warthog, wild pig
masc. èerà
var. hèerā
masc. hèerà
borrowed from Oromo

éesā *n* 1. honey 2. mead, hydromel

èet *n* sister

éetō *n* lion (general), lioness
masc. éetó

F - f

fàfà *v* 1. sprinkle, water 2. knead

fàkū *v* be/become patient

fàk'ādī *n* permission
borrowed from Amharic

fàk'ādō *v* allow, permit
borrowed from Amharic

fàntū *n* ram

fàntū *n* sheep, she-sheep

fàrkū *v* chat

fàrū *v* be cured, recover, get well again
(illness) *v* become rich *adj* fat, thick,
voluminous *n* rich

fàr'arā *n* razor blade, razor

fàtū *v* get fat (of ox)

fàyà *adj* heavy, difficult, hard, serious
(mistake), grave, severe (wound)
masc. fày
n weight

fàyyā *adv* good, well, fine, all right *n*
health

fàz *n* stallion, horse (masc.)

fàzà *n* horse, mare

fáadā *n* number

fàadū *v* count, enumerate, calculate

fáassō *v* quarrel, dispute, have a fight,
disagree violently *n* 1. enmity, ha-
tred, quarrel, brawl, fight 2. person
who is not on speaking terms with
someone, antagonist

férétū *v* read

fèrfèrū *adj* wideawake, active, quick, ag-
ile
masc. fèrfèrù
v be agile

D. Vocabulary

fēzū *v* split

fēeshā *v* spend the day, spend time

fichàfichā *adj* muddy, miry

fichàficchō *v* be/become muddy, miry

figā *n* fresh dung (of cow)

fikō *n* neck *n* new coiled up sheet *adj* insolent, very talkative
masc. fíkó

fillō *v* jump, hop

finā *v* 1. cross (street, river) 2. pass, pass by, go beyond

finfillō *n* kind of game

finū *v* cover (a distance)

fīr'ū *n* white *k'och'o* (ensete bread) *v* scrape off, peel with a knife

fiskìnnyū *adj* offensive, grotesque

fi'ā *n* 1. lentil 2. species of ensete

fizō *n* goat (general, female)

fō *v* live, reside, dwell *v* be there *n* wealth, riches

fòchā *n* doorway, forecourt
var. fòchàrā

fōrō *adj* white
masc. fōró *v* be/become white *n* species of ensete

fóshā *n* farm, field, land which has been tilled

fóochā *v* peel, skin, bark (a tree), rub (the skin) *n* bark (tree, plants), peel, rind

fòochū *v* peel

fóontō *adj* without

fùgà *v* 1. play (the flute) 2. blow, inflate
n potter (masc.)

fùlū *v* 1. fly 2. run with high speed, run very fast

fūlū *v* break, burst, fracture *n* salt bar, rock salt

fūr'ā *n* flower, bloom

fùsà *v* pinch

fùshàfúshtō *v* be/become hungry, starve (pol.)

fùtō *n* truth, reality

fútū *v* sweep, clean, wipe *n* broom

fù'ō *v* be saved, be spared, heal

fù'tō *v* remain, surplus, be saved
var. fù'itō

G - g

gàbā *n* market, market place *v* level (road, ground)
borrowed from Oromo

gàchā *v* open

gàchùwà *n* ox (castrated bull)
var. gàchwà, gàchù

gàdā *adj* very pretty, very beautiful, very handsome
masc. gādà

gàddō *adj* new

gàfkū *v* 1. divorce 2. set free, let loose 3. send something

gàfō <i>adj</i> stray, loose (cattle)	gāwā <i>v</i> be/become satisfied, be/become satiated pol. dībīla <i>n</i> kind of pot (earthenware)
gàkkū <i>v</i> set free	
gālā <i>n</i> provisions, food for a journey	gàwū <i>n</i> precipice, cliff
gàlātā <i>n</i> praise, thank, appreciation borrowed from Oromo	gāwū <i>v</i> be/become satisfied, be/become satiated
gàlāttō <i>v</i> thank, be/become grateful, appreciate, praise borrowed from Oromo	gāymā <i>adj</i> full-grown masc. gāymà
gāmā <i>n</i> ant (medium size)	gà'nyā <i>v</i> tend a woman after giving birth <i>n</i> woman who has recently given birth
gàmālā <i>n</i> door, gate	gàabbō <i>v</i> repent, regret borrowed from Oromo
gāmdū <i>n</i> kind of grass	gàachō <i>adj</i> stripped off, divested, skimmed, skinned
gànà <i>n</i> ant	gàadū <i>n</i> rope
gàndō <i>v</i> fall, fall down, fail (examination), relapse (into poverty) pol. wòshùktō	gàagà <i>v</i> put sth. through a hole so that it is fixed (e.g. ring on finger)
gàneyā <i>postp n</i> between	gàambà <i>adj</i> fertile
gānō <i>v</i> reconcile	gàanà <i>v</i> bear fruits, produce fruits <i>n</i> fruit, kernel, berry
gānsō <i>n</i> round clay plate for baking <i>injera</i> (pancake made from <i>t'ef</i> /local millet)	gàarā <i>adj</i> half, equal
gànsū <i>v</i> strew down, dropped	gàa'yō <i>adj</i> worn out (clothes)
gārō <i>adj</i> small, little	gèdà <i>v</i> bury <i>v</i> 1. put into, introduce 2. enter a car 3. score
gārōnò <i>adv</i> small, little	gēnyā <i>adj</i> lumpy, clotted (porridge, dough) masc. gēny
gàsāsā <i>adj</i> careful masc. gàsās	gèràkālō <i>adv loc</i> outside
gàsàsū <i>v</i> pay attention, take note of	gèrègèrè <i>adv</i> suddenly, immediately
gàtū <i>v</i> start	

D. Vocabulary

gèrō *adv loc* outside

gèshō *n* back *postp* behind
pol. wòshka

gēyā *adj* most expensive
masc. gě *n* fire

gē'ā *n* knee *v* 1. connect, join, unite 2.
be/become proud (negative)
pol. gìnà

gē'ō *v* break out anew (wounds, hatred)

gèebō *n* hole digged in the backyard for
storing *k'och'o* (ensete bread)

gèerū *v* call

gèer'à *v* hang another person, strangle

gìgittō *v* fall asleep, slumber (pol.) *n*
sleep, slumber

gīmā *n* large water jar made of clay

gìmùwà *n* bush duiker, bush duiker
masc. gìmù

gìndō *n* beam of plough

gīrā *n* joy, happiness, pleasure *adj* happy
masc. gīr

gīrō *v* be/become happy

gīrū *v* 1. enter (house) 2. understand 3.
marry (women)
roy. zīgū

gīr'à *adj* hideous
masc. gīr'

gīistō *v* be/become sulky

gòdārē *n* taro (plant)
borrowed from Amharic, Oromo

gòlō *adj* flat, level,

gōngā *n* dry leaf of ensete

gònyō *n* wild animal, beast *adj* success-
ful, smart
masc. gònyò

gōtā *v* lead cattle home

gòwwā *adj* silly, foolish
masc. gòwwà

gòodà *n* strength

gòodà táatō *adj* without provision
(traveller)
masc. gòodà táató

gòogō *n* skin, raw hide

gòorū *n* backyard
var. gòrgū

gōozū *adj* mature (youngster)
masc. gòozú

gūddā *n* Sunday
borrowed from Oromo

gùfā *n* ensete sprout

gùmà *n* enemy, foe

gùmtànā *n* fever

gùnō *adj* light grey
masc. gùnò

gùrgètā *n* navel

gùrticchā *n* (ear) jewelry
borrowed from Oromo

gùssū *v* shake (a person)

gūupā *v* finish

H - h

hàfà'ō cf. àfà'ō

hàfà'tō *adj* sleepy, inactive

hàfkū *v* cook (cabbage)

hàmà *v* go, depart, leave
var. àmà
pol. öfō

hān *dem* this

hānbàr *pron* this

hànè *adv* together, along with
var. ànè
adv temp this year

hānī *adv loc* here

hànkàlō *adv temp loc* from here, then
var. ànkàlō

hāntā *adv loc* here

hānnéen *adv* later

hānnéen ékālō *adv temp* later (from now)

hāng *adv loc* here, toward here

hànyā *n* donkey, she-donkey
masc. hànyà

hášh *adv temp* now, at present, right now

hášh hàwng *adv temp* today
var. ásh hàwng

hàtēr cf. àtēr

hàttū cf. áttū

hát'ē *adj* cunning, shrewed, smart
masc. hát'é
borrowed from Oromo

hàwng *adv temp* today

hà'yà *n* 1. tooth 2. border, bank, edge
var. à'yà, à'à

hà'màtō *n* bag made of goat leather

hā'ō *n* God
var. ā'ō

hà'sū *n* head of family *v* 1. reign, administer 2. save

hà'tō *adj* very cheap
masc. hà'tò

hà'ū *v* 1. spend the night, stay overnight
2. throw

hāzō *adv temp* yesterday
var. āzō

hāzzè *adv temp* last year

hàarō *n* stick

hàarō *v* be/become angry, lose one's temper

hàar'à *v* be/become wet *adj* wet
masc. hàar'

hàa'ō cf. àa'ō

hēbō *n* spear, lance

hèp *num* two
var. èp, yèp

hèp āsìr *num* twenty

hèpsā *adj num* second
masc. hèpsà *adv* again

D. Vocabulary

hèppà *adv* twice

hèp'à *cf.* èp'à

hètà *n* medicine (drug), medicament

hèebō *n* most important festival of the Yem

hìnnò *cf.* innò

hópí *adj* exhausted (masc.)

hópīyà *n* 1. hard work, toil, labor 2. weakness, exhaustion (from work)
adj pregnant

hòpū *v* get tired, fatigue, be/become weak
var. òpū
var. hòpū

hō'ā *n* soil, earth, mud

hò'tà *cf.* ò'tà

hóorō *v* be/become ready, be prepared *n* 1. preparation 2. farm, field which has been tilled

hòo'à *v* produce (form) earthenware

húgnā *n* power, force, strength

I - i

ībē *adv temp* in the past, long time ago

íchā *v* 1. hit, strike, beat 2. rise (sun) 3. rain 4. churn 5. ring (bell), strike (clock) 6. thresh *n* threshing

ìchīmā *v* dry

ìchmā *adj* 1. dry, dried 2. stubborn, persistent
masc. ìchīm
3. stiff, strong (coffee)
var. ìshmā

íchō *v* 1. swim, take a swim 2. beat each other up

ìdīmā *v* embrace, hug, hold close

ìfīnyū *adj* ugly
masc. ìfīnyù

ìksū *v* be thirsted for

ìktō *v* be/become thirsty, thirst for *n* thirst

īmā *v* 1. give 2. sacrifice, offer sacrifice *n* sacrifice

ìmātā *n* butter

īndāané *part* it is not, no, not so

ìnkāl *n* mirror

íntō *n* mother

innò *pron* we
var. hìnnò

ìnyà *adj* big, great
masc. ìny

ìpùwà *n* storm, whirlwind

ìrbà *n* guest, stranger, visitor

īrō *n* rain

ìrsāasī *n* pencil
borrowed from Amharic

ìsà *num* one

ìsánné *pron* nobody, none, nothing

ìsàr *num* only one

ìsàwà *adv temp* one day

ìssānnā *adv* once

ìssòon *num* one

ìssūn *num* six

ìssūn àsìr *num* sixty

ì'ō *n* wood *n* tree

ìzgìn *num* nine

ìzgìn àsìr *num* ninety

J - j

jàbàna cf. yàbàna

jìmàatō *n* Friday
borrowed from Oromo

jò'ō *n* outbreak, eruption *v* explode,
erupt

jōorā *v* be/become greedy, be/become
avid, be/become stingy
borrowed from Oromo

jùkō *adj* very red

K - k

kà *n* life
pol. kéepū

kābā *n* time

kàbgū *v* 1. lift (up), take up 2. chase away
3. dismiss (from office), reverse (a
decision)

kàbō *n* wrestling *v* wrestle, fight, struggle

kàbū *v* get up, stand up, rise up
pol. shō'tō

káchā *v* wrap (up) , envelope, bind, coil

kàchō *v* dash bits, break up clods of
earth, harrow

kách'ē *n* clan

kàjēelō *n* Monday
borrowed from Oromo

kālā *n* horn

kālā *v* 1. drive (cattle, car) 2. hurry 3.
prevent, prohibit, forbid

kálátō *v* split *adj* split

káltō *n* yearning, longing for affection

kàltō *adj* forbidden, prohibited
masc. kàltō

kāmīsā *n* Thursday
borrowed from Oromo

kāmō *adj* pointed, sharp

kámsū *v* sharpen

kànà *n* dog, she-dog

kānū *v* roar of an ox

kārā *adj* black
masc. kārā

kāràf *ideo* very fast

kàràrō *n* kind of tree

kárásū *v* tear, slit, rip (cloth), make a
hole

kárátō *v* cut, tear *adj* cut, torn

D. Vocabulary

kársā <i>n</i> Tuesday var. k'ársā borrowed from Oromo	káttō <i>n</i> tear, hole (of any kind), leak, gap
kār'ā <i>v</i> reach (a place), arrive <i>adv</i> until	kàwnà <i>adj</i> short masc. kàwn
kār'à <i>v</i> cut, harvest, mow	kàwò <i>n</i> dry season
kàsà <i>n</i> bird (general word)	kàwō <i>n</i> salt <i>v</i> stop raining
kàsàsō <i>v</i> accuse, bring a charge against sb., sue borrowed from Amharic	kàwūnsū <i>v</i> shorten
káskāsū <i>adj</i> quick (in giving service) masc. káskású	káymā <i>adj</i> 1. holy, saint 2. clean, pure, tidy, clear (weather) masc. káym
kàssō <i>v</i> game, play, talk, chat <i>n</i> play, game, amusement	káynū <i>v</i> filter, clean var. káynyū
kássū <i>v</i> bake (<i>injera</i> (pancake made from <i>t'ef</i> /local millet), <i>k'och'o</i> (ensete bread)) pol. nò'sū	kāyū <i>v</i> shoot up, grow (plants), germinate <i>n</i> way through, passageway var. kāwū?
kàshō <i>adj</i> light masc. kàshò <i>n</i> 1. traditional umbrella (made from bamboo) 2. name of clan	kà'ō <i>n</i> ape, monkey
kásshā <i>n</i> edible part of ensete	kàagà <i>adj</i> 1. hot, spicy 2. sharp (edge) 3. sour
kátā <i>adj</i> 1. well cooked 2. aged masc. kát <i>v</i> cook, be baked	kàagō <i>n</i> vow <i>adj</i> liable to bite (dog)
kàtà <i>v</i> breathe <i>n</i> 1. breath 2. belly, stomach, abdomen pol. sirmō	káamā <i>n</i> 1. language 2. sound, voice 3. word
kàtāmā <i>n</i> town, city borrowed from Amharic	kàamō <i>v</i> sharpen
kátū <i>v</i> have distributed, allocate sth. to several people	káanā <i>v</i> 1. straighten up 2. look upwards, lift up one's eyes <i>adv</i> uphill, upwards
kàtū <i>v</i> make cut	kàap'ō <i>v</i> 1. grind coarsely 2. lie, tell a lie, falsify
	kàap'tō <i>adj</i> coarsely grounded
	kàarishā <i>adj</i> very cold
	káarittō <i>v</i> 1. shave 2. anoint, smear (pol.)
	káar'ā <i>adj</i> sweet, tasty, delicious
	kàasū <i>v</i> pay

kàatū <i>v</i> beat, shake, stir (liquid)	kè'ō <i>v</i> 1. keep apart, be/become isolated, withdraw (from society) 2. punish, penalize, fine <i>n</i> punishment, penalty, fine
kàa'nō <i>v</i> bow, kneel	kè'ū <i>v</i> punish
kèchō <i>v</i> give an injection	kèzzō <i>n</i> shepherd, herdsman
kèjà <i>v</i> pierce, stab, prick <i>n</i> stick to close the door var. tètjà	kéemā <i>v</i> watch over (of guard)
kèlàbā <i>n</i> young ensete plant	kéepū <i>v</i> 1. drink (pol.) 2. blow <i>n</i> life (pol.)
kēmō <i>v</i> see, look, look at (pol.)	kèer <i>adv loc</i> in the house
kènàk'ō <i>n</i> flea var. tènàk'ō	kèerki bàr <i>n</i> wife
kènàshà <i>n</i> intestine guts	kèerki bàassō <i>n</i> family, household
kènàshtō <i>n</i> compassion, kindness, pity, goodness, leniency	kèer'à <i>v</i> build a house <i>n</i> kind of <i>k'och'o</i> (ensete bread) (white, high quality)
kènyà <i>v</i> mate, copulate	kèesā <i>n</i> soft white cheese
kèp'à <i>v</i> pick (fruit), collect, harvest	kèessā <i>num</i> third
kèrō <i>v</i> descend, walk down	kèeshtānā <i>n</i> love
késā <i>v</i> exit, ascend	kèeshtō <i>v</i> love, adore, like
kèssū <i>v</i> bring down, put down	kèeshū <i>adj</i> 1. very good (for things only) 2. pretty, beautiful, handsome, nice masc. kèeshù
kēwā <i>n</i> egg <i>adj</i> raw (meat), green (grain) unripe, crude (vegetables)	kèez <i>num</i> three
kēwū <i>v</i> 1. sit, sit down, stay (pol.) 2. lie (down), sleep (pol.)	kèez āsīr <i>num</i> thirty
kèyà <i>n</i> house	kīchō <i>v</i> eat, consume (pol.) <i>adj</i> bruised
ké'ā <i>v</i> profit	kīmā <i>v</i> 1. take a handful (grain, etc.), scoop up 2. wrap a corpse up in a shroud, enshroud
kè'ē <i>n</i> 1. enclosure, compound 2. hamlet 3. surrounding(s) 4. rural area, countryside borrowed from Oromo	kīnō <i>n</i> shroud
	kīsū <i>v</i> make go out, take out, expel
	kíssū <i>v</i> make fetch

D. Vocabulary

- kìtā** *v* be/become swollen, swell up (body) *adj* swollen
masc. kīt *n* death spirit
- kítā** *v* draw water, haul water
pol. túbū
- kītū** *v* die
pol. nīp'ū
- kì'ā** *v* 1. knock, tap at, kick, hammer
2. thresh 3. pound (roasted coffee-beans) 4. forge 5. chip off, rub in order remove the hulls (of grain)
- kí'ā** *adj* burned (food item) *n* burned part of food item *v* be/become burned (food item)
- kí'sō** *n* baked wheat bread
- kī'ū** *v* sharpen
- kíichō** *v* burn down
- kíichū** *v* 1. set fire to, set on fire, burn 2. fry, roast *adj* hot, warm
- kíinā** *n* umbilical cord (animals only) *adj* dirty, unclean
masc. kíin
- kíinch'ā** *quant* some *adj* very small
masc. kíinch'á
var. kíinch'ū
masc. kíinch'ú
- kíir'ā** *v* break
- kìitū** *v* advise
- kò** *n* lender
- kòbànā** *n* big loaf of *k'och'o* (ensete bread) cooked/baked on fire (on clay griddle)
- kòdā** *n* stool, chair
- kōdā** *n* work team *v* prepare for team work, call people to work
- kófkū** *v* let go, let free, let loose
- kòksā** *n* malaria
- kōp'ā** *n* small place where water is found (pol.) *n* water
- kōp'ō** *v* give birth, deliver (pol.)
- kòrkū** *v* shake, tremble
- kòrō** *n* roasted grain
- kōrō** *v* investigate, inquire
- kòrū** *v* 1. distinguish, differentiate, separate, divide 2. choose, select, pick out 3. compensate
- kótā** *v* untie, let loose
- kòyà** *part* yes!
- kōyā** *v* chew, crunch
- kōyū** *v* be/become dry
- kò'à** *v* come to an end, terminate, finish
- kó'ā** *v* break (*k'och'o* (ensete bread)) (pol.)
- kò'bàstā** *adv temp* at last
- kò'sū** *v* finish, complete, end
- kò'ū** *n* 1. mouse, rat 2. gland *v* end
- kóochō** *n* cold, coolness *adj* 1. cold, cool, chilly
masc. kóochó
2. mild (drink)

kóonā *n* 1. relative, kin
masc. kóon
2. species of ensete

kòontō *v* 1. multiply, reproduce 2. be
born *n* generation

kòonū *v* give birth, deliver
pol. kōp'ō, tănō

kóorā *n* saddle
borrowed from Amharic

kòorō *v* remove ears

kóor'ā *v* swallow

kóosī *n* ball

kòotà *n* banquet festive meal

kòotō *v* cook (wot, porridge...)

kūbgū *v* collect, gather

kùlfū *v* close, block, shut off, lock *n* stick
for closing door

kùlū *adj* of ordinary colour (cattle)
masc. kùlù

kùmā *n* hill

kūmā *num* one thousand
borrowed from Oromo
n chunk of ensete

kūnā *v* lie (down), sleep
pol. kēwū

kúndīmā *n* bedroom, bed

kùnsū *v* lay flat, put down, place (in a
lying position)

kùnniyū *adj* deformed, creased

kùp'āmbàasē *quant* all, everything
var. zùuttāmbàasē

kūp'ō *n* bed

kūrā *n* 1. fly 2. crow, raven
borrowed from Amharic

kùrmà *n* porcupine, she-porcupine

kúrurū *adj* dwarfish
masc. kúrurú

kùr'ārfān *n* fortnight
borrowed from Oromo

kùr'ù *adj* old (masc.) *n* old man, elder

kùr'ū *adj* old
masc. kùr'ù *v* be/become old

kúshō *v* 1. give (pol.) 2. take, obtain
(pol.) 3. marry

kúshū *n* hand
pol. tàwnā

kútā *n* cloth

kùtū *v* walk, travel *n* trip, march, jour-
ney, travel

kūwā *n* grass, straw

kūyā *n* food made from roasted barley
flour

kūygū *v* drink (pol.)

kúulā *adj* fat, stout, obese
masc. kúul

kùurū *v* cut grass

D. Vocabulary

K' - k'

k'àk'àbō *v* reach (a place), arrive

k'ùp'k'ū *v* save

k'ùrt'ūmmī *n* fish
borrowed from Oromo

L - l

lāafā *adj* lame
masc. làafá
borrowed from Oromo?

lòmīyā *n* lemon, lime
borrowed from Amharic

lōotū *adj* greedy, stingy, ravenous
masc. lòotú
borrowed from Oromo

lùgāmā *n* bridle
borrowed from Amharic

M - m

màgàdā *n* sickle

màjā *n* hyena
borrowed from Oromo?

màkà *n* hunger

mākō *v* speak, talk, tell, converse
pol. būrō

màktō *v* be/become hungry, starve
pol. fùshàfúshtō

mālātā *n* legal charge, accusation, suit
(in law court)

màllàtō *v* mark something *n* sign, mark,
indication
borrowed from Oromo

māmō *v n* whisper, chat, rumour, gossip
var. māmā
borrowed from Oromo

māmsū *v* ask, question, demand help *n*
question, request

màngū *v* be/become wicked, be/become
bad *adj* bad, evil, wicked
masc. màngù

màràbbà *part* amen
borrowed from Oromo

màrfà *n* needle (for sewing), injection
borrowed from Amharic

màrì *n* groom, bridegroom

màriyā *n* bride

màriyān *n* lot, chance, destiny, fate

màr'à *v* 1. squeeze juice from *k'och'o* (en-
sete bread) 2. twist, wring (clothes)
adj zigzag, sinuos (wind, meander)

màsà *v* wash (something)

màskò *n* morning star

màskōtī *n* window

màsō *v* wash (body, hands, foot), take a
bath *n* yeast, leaven
pol. wā'ō

māshkā *adj* female

màyā *adj* grey
masc. màyà *n* species of ensete

màyà *v* wear, get dressed, put on clothes
n clothes, dress, garment
pol. fāshō

mā'ā *n* goodness, bounty, kindness *v*
be/become good *adj* good, nice, fine
masc. mà'á

mā'ārò *adv* well

mà'í *part* yes, all right, o.k.

mà'ō *v* bind together, tie

mā'ū *v* make rope (first round)

màzā *n* wound

màs'āfā *n* book
borrowed from Amharic

māag *n* traditional priest

māamā *n* clothes, dress, garment

māanō *n* wife, spouse (pol.)

māar'ò *part* bye

màastō *v* be/become fed

màasū *v* feed

māattō *v* flatten

māa'yā *n* sacrifice

mègā *n* bone

mējō *n* *t'ef* (local kind of millet)

mèkāmā *n* advice *n*

mèrkō *v* advise, discuss council

mèrō *v* win a game, win a battle, conquer, defeat *n* sickness, disease

mèstō *v* break (pot)

mèsū *v* break (eggs, earthenware, ..)

mèshmétā *n* lunch

mèttànā *n* patient (sick person)
masc. mèttān
pol. séltānā, séltān

mèttō *v* be/become sick, feel ill
pol. séltō

mèwū *n* 1. leopard
masc. mèwù
2. name of clan

mēyā *n* 1. barley 2. grain, cereal, crops

mè'ū *v* wash (clothes only)

mēethà'ū *n* supper, dinner

mìchū *v* make laugh

mìlí'ō *adj* be/become lazy

míllū *adj* very small
masc. míllú

mīyā *n* cow

mì'à *v* laugh *n* laughter
pol. kécchu

mìzé *n* best man
borrowed from Amharic

míiskū *adj* few, tiny
masc. míiskú

mīitō *v* dream *n* dream

mòk'òwō *v* remove the hulls, rub, crush
in a mortar *n* mortar

mōogā *n* grave, tomb

mòonà *adj* *n* fat and sterile (cow, sheep, goat)

mū *v* eat, consume *n* food, nourishment, meal
pol. kichō, tàr'à
roy. bōstō

D. Vocabulary

mùchō <i>v</i> come (roy.) <i>adj</i> chopped, minced (meat, onion, etc.)	nà'ō <i>n</i> youth, adolescent, young person masc. nà'ò
mùggū <i>v</i> bend down, stoop	nās'ā <i>adj</i> free borrowed from Amharic
mùkō <i>adj</i> walking like a mule masc. mùkō <i>v</i> thresh grain <i>n</i> pig, hog	nàafūn <i>num</i> seven
mūyā <i>adj</i> blunt (blade), dull (blade, intellect)	nàafūn àsìr <i>num</i> seventy
mù'ū <i>v</i> chop	nàanggòtā <i>n</i> children
mūumā <i>adj</i> 1. untrue 2. coarsely grounded	nàarū <i>v</i> lick
	nàashtō <i>v</i> become in-laws
	nāat'ō <i>v</i> prance, run
	nè <i>pron</i> your pol. nì end. nītī
N - n	nē <i>pron</i> you pol. nì end. nīt
nā <i>n</i> boy	
nàgā <i>n</i> peace borrowed from Oromo	
nàgādō <i>v</i> trade, deal in borrowed from Amharic	nènyà <i>n</i> aunt (sister of father)
nàggàddé <i>n</i> trader (masc.) borrowed from Amharic	nèyà <i>n</i> 1. year 2. epoch, period, era 3. age
nàngirìn <i>num</i> eight	nì <i>pron</i> 1. You (pol.) 2. Your (pol.)
nàngnàsìr <i>num</i> eighty	nībā <i>n</i> heart
nàp'k'ā <i>n</i> mat (pol.)	nībā táatō <i>adj</i> dumb, mute, stupid, silly masc. nīb tāatō
nàrkū <i>v</i> stick out (one's) tongue <i>n</i>	nībō <i>adj</i> conscientious, mindful masc. nībò
nàwà <i>n</i> girl, daughter	nībū <i>v</i> be/become slow <i>n</i> slowness
nāwō <i>v</i> startle, be frightened borrowed from Oromo	nībbà fóontō <i>adj</i> forgetful masc. nībbā fóontó
nàwò <i>n</i> disciple	nībbà shū'ā <i>adj</i> stouthearted masc. nībbā shú'
nàwō <i>v</i> accompany	

nìfàsō *v* go mad, be/become crazy,
be/become insane *adj* mad, crazy,
insane
masc. nìfàsó

nīt *pron* you (end.)

nītī *pron* your (end.)

nittó *pron* you (pl.), your (pl.)
pol. nìnò

nì'à *v* grind, mill flour

nìinò *pron* You (pl. pol.), Your (pl. pol.)

nòr'kèjō *v* hunt, go hunting *n* hunting,
hunt

nòr'ō *n* sheep and goats
masc. nòr'ò

nò'àmā *n* tongue (pol.)
var. nà'àmā

nò'sā *n* drought

nòonō *n* 1. mouth 2. lip 3. word 4. lan-
guage
pol. bùrō

nòossū *v* 1. dry (prepared clay) 2. soften
(ensete leaf)

O - o

ò *int* who?

óchā *v* cough *n* cough

òchō *n* foot, leg
var. wòchō
pol. tìbō

ōdō *v* hear, listen *n* ear
pol. wèyà

ōdōbā mūyā *adj* dull-eared
masc. ōdōbā mūyá

ōfō *v* 1. come (pol.) 2. go, depart, leave
(pol.)
var. ěfō

òjà *n* fence *v* fence in

òmàrā *n* flood torrent

òn *int* whom?

òpū cf. hòpū

òp'à cf. èp'à

òr *int* whose?

òrā *adj* 1. new 2. other

òrfō *postp* after *adv* 1. back(ward) 2. af-
terwards 3. in the back

òrgō *n* foot, leg
var. òchō, wòchō
pol. tìbō

ótā *n* pot (usually of earthenware)

òtmā *n* grace, wealth, richness *adj* rich
masc. òtùm

òttō *v* get rich

ò'tà *adj* right (direction)
masc. ò'ùt
var. hò'tà

D. Vocabulary

Oo - oo

òodà *v* 1. look after, watch (things), wait
2. go from house to house in order
to get food

óomā *adj* other, different, special, separate
masc. óom

òomsū *adj* ugly, hideous
masc. òomsù

òomtānā *n* 1. laziness 2. hatred, dislike, hostility *adj* lazy
masc. òomtān

òomtō *v* hate, dislike

ōor *adv* 1. separately 2. in private

òossū *v* entrust

òotō *n* 1. something entrusted to someone 2. beams (in building), rafters *v*
be entrusted

òotū *v* cause to get married

òottō *v* 1. be tied, be fixed 2. be caught
3. be married

P - p

pèyà *n* string made from ensete

R - r

rākāsā *adj* cheap
borrowed from Amharic

rākkīsū *v* make trouble, cause problems
borrowed from Oromo

rākkō *n* trouble, disturbance, difficulty,
problem, hardship, misery
borrowed from Oromo

rāajī *n* story
borrowed from Oromo

rāajō *v* tell a story
borrowed from Oromo

S - s

sāmā *n* sky
borrowed from Amharic

sārgī *n* wedding
borrowed from Amharic

sārgīnī wònà *n* wedding day

sārgīnyà *n* wedding guest

sàrk'ā *n* *k'och'o* (ensete bread) (pol.)

sāwā *n* wall

sàwà *v* smell (good) *n* good smell

sàwsā *n* spice, seasoning

sà'ātī *n* 1. hour 2. clock
borrowed from Amharic

sàafārā *n* idea
borrowed from Oromo?

sàafārō *v* 1. measure 2. think
borrowed from Oromo?

sāanū *v* blow on the fire

sáar'ā *v* bite *n* parasite

sáar'ō *adj* liable to bite (dog)
masc. sáar'ó

sáattō <i>adj</i> undisciplined, vulgar, rude, impolite masc. sáattó	síinī <i>n</i> cup borrowed from Amharic
séltō <i>v</i> be/become sick, feel ill (pol.)	sòrō <i>n</i> bowl, basketwork, dish
sèsā <i>adj</i> 1. thin, skinny, fine masc. sèsà 2. weak (tea)	sōr'ā <i>n</i> weed
séer'ā <i>n</i> thorn, spine	sòsōrū <i>n</i> string stick, stirrer
síkálō <i>adv loc</i> 1. inside, within 2. below, under	sòokà <i>v</i> light, set fire to <i>n</i> firewood
sìkō <i>v</i> scatter, disperse, break up (a meeting), strew (flowers, leaflets) <i>n</i> knife	sòolō <i>v</i> 1. change, exchange 2. translate, interpret
sìnà <i>v</i> be, become, happen <i>n</i> face, front, forehead <i>postp</i> before, ago, in front of pol. kēmā	sóosā <i>v</i> be spilled
sìnàk <i>adv temp</i> before, ago	súkā <i>v</i> spin, twist together (cottonwool) <i>n</i> door sill
sìnùn <i>part</i> I agree	sūk'ārà <i>adj</i> bitter
sìnùntánó <i>conj</i> nevertheless, but, on the other hand	sūnā <i>n</i> name pol. tíkā
sinnōy <i>adj</i> inappropriate, impossible	sùntō <i>v</i> be named, be called <i>n</i> garlic
sīr <i>adv loc</i> in(to)	sùrū <i>v</i> sing <i>n</i> 1. song 2. festivities
sìrmō <i>n</i> belly, stomach, abdomen (pol.)	súumō <i>v</i> be/become sad, be/become sorrowful
sìrū <i>v</i> blow (wind) <i>n</i> 1. wind 2. air, climate, weather	súunā <i>n</i> hump (of cattle)
sīyā <i>n</i> 1. nose 2. border, edge, bank (of river)?	súusā <i>n</i> 1. rope, string made from ensete 2. blessing, sanctification <i>v</i> 1. bless (of priest), give benediction 2. bless, inaugurate, dedicate (facility, installation)
sī'ō <i>n</i> basket for winnowing	sùutà <i>v</i> hang, hang up, hang out, raise up <i>n</i> nape of neck
sīybà kàagà <i>adj</i> big-nosed masc. sīybā kàag	

D. Vocabulary

Sh - sh

shàftō *v* pound grain, coffee (in a mortar)

shákū *n* disobedience *v* not do *adj* 1. blunt, dull 2. disobedient

shāngō *v* spread, straddle

shāngsū *v* (cause to) spread, straddle

shàwō *n* spider

sháabā *v* milk

sháabō *n* milk

shāagū *v* 1. wash (pol.) 2. rinse (dishes, clothes)

shāaktō *v* wash the body, wash (pol.)

sháakkū *v* be/become silent, be/become quiet

shàalà *v* let free, let out, clear up

sháarū *n* cloud

sháashā *v* roast (coffee, etc.)

shàatō *v* 1. branch off 2. shortcut

sháa'ā *n* 1. thatch of grass (for roof) 2. kind of grass (used as spice in mead preparation)

shèdū *v* remove sth. from main part

shēlgū *v* 1. turn upside down, pour from one container to another, overthrow 2. copy

shé'ā *n* hail *adj* red, reddish
masc. shé'

shè'sū *v* make red

shè'ū *n* 1. colostrum 2. daybreak

shéerū *adj* yellow

shígnā *n* crocodile

shillàk'ō *n* dish made from beans
var. shìnk'ālō

shìmsū *v* give trouble, disturb, make difficulties (children)

shìnkūrtī *n* onion (red)
borrowed from Amharic

shīyā *n* stool (human excrement)

shíip'ō *v* 1. beg, demand 2. pray

shōlō *v* want, search, look for

shólsū *v* be/become necessary

shórkō *v* budge, move slightly, move to and fro

shòwō *adj* many, abundant *v* be/become more than sufficient, be/become abundant

shòwōnò *adv* many, very

shō'tō *v* get up, stand up, rise up (pol.)

shóotū *v* make happy

shóo'ā *n* opening, gap

shùkà *v* slaughter, butcher, cut the animal's throat *n* slaughtering, butchering

shùmā *v* drink together

shùnà *v* love, desire, like

shùnō *v* love each other

shūp'ā *adj* 1. soft, smooth 2. cheap, inexpensive 3. fertile, rich (soil) *v* soften

shūp'ō *adj* meagre, thin
masc. shúp'ó

shū'ā *n* 1. stone, rock 2. weight

shúugā *n* board on which ensete is cut

T - t

tà *pron* my

tá *pron* I

tàch'àmā *n* a cloth which is used as belt

tàfāsā *n* kind of antelope, gazelle, deer, stag

tàgà *adj* broad, wide, large *n* width

tàgū *v* spread, expand (generation, descendants)

tàkà *v* 1. break up (clods of earth) 2. smear, spread, anoint

tàkō *v* wear while asleep *n* blanket

tàkōnì māmā *n* traditional blanket made of cotton
var. tàkōnì būllūkō

tàlmà *n* darkness, obscurity

tāmā *v* suck, suckle *n* breast, nipple, teat

tàmārō *v* learn, know
borrowed from Amharic
pol. àzzū

tánō *v* give birth, deliver (pol.)

tānū *v* let suckle

tàptō *v* become fast

tàràbbèezā *n* table
borrowed from Amharic

tàr'à *v* 1. eat, consume (pol.) 2. chew

tà'à *adj* near

tà'nī *adv* fast, quickly

tà'ū *v* touch, approach

tàamā *n* spleen

tàamà *v* take somewhere

tàannyū *v* bridle

tàr *pron* my, mine

tàarū *v* walk, take steps, stride

táar'ā *v* tie, bind, attach, imprison, put in jail, arrest

táar'ō *v* belt, gird up

tàatō *n* king, sovereign

táatō *n* prisoner

tèbèb *ideo* fly away

téehmā *n* expert
masc. téchúm

tègà *n* face, forehead (pol.)

tèrmā *n* tongue
pol. nò'amā

tésā *n* 1. kind, sort, species, type 2. ethnic group, tribe, clan

tésīrà *adv temp* from

tésū *v* 1. create, invent, make up 2. begin, start

D. Vocabulary

tèshà <i>v</i> cry, lament, wail <i>n</i> 1. side (body part) 2. lamentation, mourning, crying (at burial) <i>postp</i> close to pol. chòkìyà	tìshā <i>n</i> unprepared <i>k'och'o</i> (ensete bread)
tèsshō <i>v</i> bring	tíshkū <i>v</i> blow out, destroy, exterminate, extinguish
tèwū <i>v</i> swear, vow, take a vow, take an oath	tíshū <i>v</i> be lost, be absent, go astray, be missing, disappear <i>adj</i> lost, absent, astray, missing masc. tíshú
tēyyà <i>n</i> oath, vow	tìttànā <i>adj</i> greedy, miserly masc. tìttān <i>n</i> greed, cupidity
tè'à <i>n</i> fireplace <i>v</i> put on fireplace	tīyā <i>num</i> hundred
téegó <i>n</i> husband pol. èràshō	tíinnyō <i>adj n</i> (one) infested with nits masc. tíinnyó
téegō <i>n</i> dowry <i>v</i> call	tíir'ō <i>n</i> problem <i>adj</i> narrow, tight
tèetà <i>n</i> 1. head 2. top, crest of a hill pol. bēgā	tìittō <i>n</i> parsimony
tèetà fóontō <i>adj</i> inconsiderant, devil-may-care masc. tèetà fóontó	tō <i>adv temp</i> noon time
tèetbà tíinnyā <i>adj</i> infested with nits masc. tèetbā tíinnyā	tòchō <i>n</i> tale, story, history
tíchā <i>n</i> writing, letter <i>adj</i> spotted, multi-coloured (animals, clothes) masc. tích	tókā <i>v</i> 1. plant (trees, flowers) 2. sew on (button) 3. pitch (poles, a tent,..)
tíchū <i>v</i> write, write down	tònà <i>n</i> light, lamp
tījī <i>n</i> straw (of <i>t'ef</i> (local kind of millet)) borrowed from Oromo, Amharic	tònū <i>v</i> turn on the light, burn (e.g. a candle), light a candle
tíkā <i>n</i> name (pol.)	tòrbān <i>n</i> week borrowed from Oromo
tillū <i>adj</i> weak <i>n</i> weakling masc. tillù	tòrū <i>v</i> plough virgin land
tínnā <i>n</i> Saturday	tòshà <i>n</i> leaf, canopy
tìr'ō <i>n</i> cotton	tòochō <i>n</i> horizontal pieces of wood
	tòofō <i>n</i> big cup
	tóogī <i>part</i> I don't know
	tònà <i>n</i> lowlands

tóo'ā *v* pull out, harvest

túcchō *n* blessing ceremony for newly-weds

túfū *adj* fat (animals)
masc. túfú

tùgō *adj* narrow, tight (clothes)

tùgsū *v* oppress *n* oppression

tūgū *v* push, shove, advance in time

tūjā *n* spittle, saliva

tūjō *v* spit (out)

túkā *postp adv* on top

tùkāmā *n* poverty, penury *adj* poor
masc. tùkām

tūlū *n* malt

tūmā *n* law, rule, legislation rule, regulation, principle, statute

túpā *v* tie, bind (animals)

túrūrū *n* common cold, cough
pol. kíkāmā

túshā *n injera* (kind of pancake made from *t'ef* (local kind of millet))

tùshū *v* knead, make dough

tùtùrū *n* horn

tùumà *adj* full, whole, complete
masc. tùum
v be/become full

tùunū *v* fill, be/become filled, fill out, fill up, be/become full of

T' - t'

t'ilōshī *n* dowry, bride price
borrowed from Amharic

U - u

ùfēsshū *n* breakfast
var. ùfāsshū

ùfūnnnyū *adj* weak
masc. ùfūnnnyù

ùgnà *n* 1. road, way, street 2. journey

ùkà *v* 1. cover with a lid 2. thatch a house with grass 3. muffle (nose) *n* cover

úkkō *adv temp* earlier, some time ago
var. húkkō

ùlfintō *v* respect, esteem
borrowed from Oromo

ùnyū *v* murmur, grumble, grunt *n* tail

ùp'ō *v* meet

ùsā *n k'och'o* (ensete bread)
pol. sàrk'ā

úshā *v* drink *n* drink
pol. kéepū, kúygū

ùshū *v* cause to drink

ùtō *n* sauce, side dish
pol. sēp'ā

ūwā *n* root part of ensete

Uu - uu

úuch *num* five

úuch āsìr *num* fifty

D. Vocabulary

W - w

wàndàbō *n* dress

borrowed from Oromo

wàssī *adv temp* at midnight

wā'yā *n* branch

wàagà *n* 1. money, price, cost 2. domestic animals (cows, oxen, sheep, goats...) borrowed from Amharic?

wàagō *v* 1. buy, purchase 2. sell borrowed from Amharic?

wàalà *n* evening

wàalà *v* become evening

wàalī *adv temp* at night

wàar'à *v* pull out, dig up, pull up (weeds), remove (tooth)

wàar'ā tàarū *v* take first steps

wāasā *n* lamentation, mourning, crying
pol. chòkìyà

wàasū *v* cry, weep, lament, mourn a dead person
pol. chòkū

wāashā *v* scrape the fleshy part of the ensete

wàashà *n* big earthen pitcher *v* fill the big earthen pitcher

wàashmálū *n* tool for harvesting ensete

wāashō *v* harvest ensete

wèyà *n* ear (pol.)

wīchō *v* weave *adj* woven

wīchū *v* have woven (weave)

wī'ā *v* weave *v* basket work

wīisā *n* thief
masc. wīis

wīisō *v* steal

wòchō cf. òchō

wòdō *n* 1. turn, order 2. herd

wòkà *v* be/become late, be delayed *adj* far

wōlgū *v* 1. keep back, give back, return, put back 2. answer *n* answer, response

wōlī *adv temp* later, then (after that)

wòlkò *n* neighbour *v* be/become neighbours

wòlsū *v* 1. swell 2. become sore

wòlū *v* part of burial ceremony

wōlū *v* return

wòlūmsū *v* make talk, talk to *n* sentence

wòlūmtō *v* talk

wōllà *adv* again

wòllō *v* talk, have a conversation
pol. būrō

wòmàtū *v* talk (roy.)

wòmū *v* squeeze *n*

wònà *n* time, period *n* day, appointment

wònà *v* dawn, become morning *n* dawn

wònò *adv temp* tomorrow

wònō *n* day

wònsā *n* early morning, day break

wònnāwònnā *adv temp* every day, always

wòrū *v* kill, murder

wōr'ā *v* carry, bear, be/become loaded
pol. dònō

wōsīyà *n* 1. letter, written message 2.
messenger
masc. wòsí

wòstō *v* work, make, do *n* work, labor,
task, deed

wòstōnì wònà *n* working day/time

wòsū *v* send

wōshā *v* serve (food)

wòshùktō *v* fall, fall down (pol.)

wōsshū *v* spread, grease

wō'ō *v* mix *n* adultery

wō'sū *v* mix, mix up

wò'ū *v* separate ensete sprouts

wòosà *v* blossom (ensete plant) *n* ensete
flower

wòoshà *n* bamboo

wū *v* say, speak

wūzā *n* thing, something, anything

wùukū *v* 1. pour out 2. soak

Y - y

yàbànā *n* coffeepot
var. jàbàna
borrowed from Amharic

yèmmà úshā *n* beer made from malt and
t'ef (local kind of millet)

yèngàr *n* home territory of the Yem peo-
ple

yērō *v* 1. stand, stand up 2. stop
pol. yēcchū

yēr'ā *v* kick, tread on, trample, step on

yés *dem* that on the other side, that over
there

yèsálō *adv loc* over there

yèeshò *n* rainy season

yèeshū *n* rainy

yèet *dem adv* (that) below, (that) down
there

yèetō *n* central pillar of the round
Ethiopian house

yèetū *v* 1. erect 2. stop (sb., sth.) 3. sus-
pend (from one's job)

yīlālō *n* swing

yīlū *v* 1. run (to where sth. is happening)
2. twist the second round of a rope

yìrfò *n* blacksmith

yīstō *v* be said, be told, be called

yíwwē *adv temp* after two days/two days
later

yīzō *adv temp* the day before yesterday

D. Vocabulary

yīzzè *adv temp* the year before last year

yīir'à *v* make a bed, spread linnen or mat

yīissō *adv temp* last time

yīishā *v* 1. dig 2. collect

yīitū *v* 1. bury 2. collect

yō *v* come
pol. öfō
roy. zūgū, mùchō

yōyō *adj* 1. weak-sighted 2. excitable, restless
masc. yòyó

yō'gū *v* diminish, decrease, reduce

yōonò *adv temp* the day after tomorrow

yòony *adj* greedy, stingy (masc.)

yúwwē *adv temp* two days after tomorrow

yùu'yū *adj* weak
masc. yùu'yù
var. yùu'ū
masc. yùu'ù

Z - z

zàbō *n* bush, wilderness, lowlands

zāgā *adj* firm, robust
masc. zăg

zāgō *n* wheat

zāgū *v* 1. decide, confine, define, determine 2. do, act, make

zàknō *n* elephant

zālā *n* seed (of plant)

zātā *v* 1. be/become kindred 2. be/become interconnected (through marriage) 3. handle people

zàtà *v* pull, drag, haul, tow

zàtō *v* be/become connected, be linked, be held together

zāwā *n* snake

zàwà *n* hot spring *adj* light (skin)
masc. zàw

zàwō *v* become drunk

zàysū *v* make sb. drunk

zàannyō *n* baboon

zàarmō *n* wasp, hornet

zāarō *n* 1. lizard
masc. zàaró
2. worship *v* worship

zèyà *n* 1. stink, bad smell 2. ant *adj* stinking, fetid
masc. zě

zēemā *v* precede, be/become first, be ahead of, overtake *n* foreword, preface, prologue

zēemmà *n* priority, precedence *adv temp* formerly, before, previously

zèennyū *v* make follow, lead lead, guide, be ahead, march at the head of

zìbìchā *n* young bull (not castrated)
var. zìbìchā
borrowed from Oromo

zìgā *n* chili, hot pepper

zìgū *v* fall down, drop (small things)

zìllū <i>v</i> be/become stunt (in growth, development) <i>n</i> stunted one <i>adj</i> stunted (in growth)	zòodā <i>n</i> board
zìizà <i>v</i> sing a funeral chant, wail <i>n</i> traditional funeral	zōogū <i>v</i> touch, involve
zòcchìrà yèrá <i>adj</i> standing still masc. zòcchìrē yērē	zòonsū <i>v</i> lead, guide
zōcchū <i>adj</i> of manly appearance	zòorū <i>v</i> sew, stitch <i>n</i> sewing
zōkā <i>n</i> bridge	zūgū <i>v</i> come (roy.)
zòkínnyā <i>n</i> match-maker masc. zòkínnyá var. zōkīnnyà	zùllū <i>adj</i> tired, exhausted
zōkō <i>v</i> cross	zūulā <i>v</i> 1. flee in abundance 2. go (many people)
zōmō <i>n</i> friend masc. zòmó <i>v</i> be, become friends	zùutìrà <i>quant</i> all (tr.)
zōmtō <i>v</i> become familiar with sb., establish friendship	zùutū <i>v</i> 1. gather, assemble, collect 2. harvest 3. wrap a corpse up in a shroud, enshroud
	zùuttāmbàasē <i>quant</i> all var. kùp'āmbàasē
	zùuttō <i>n</i> gathering, meeting, assembly, session, conference

Silvia Anna Zaugg-Coretti

Curriculum vitae

Personal Information

Date of Birth	Jan 9, 1978
Place of Birth	Biel-Bienne BE, Switzerland
Nationality	Swiss
Places of Origin	Eggiwil BE and Bregaglia GR
Marital Status	Married since Jun 22, 2002
Spouse's Name	Lukas Emanuel Zaugg
Children	Aimee Naomi Zaugg (Jan 30, 2007) Lars Nathanael Zaugg (Nov 18, 2009) Noelle Ann Zaugg (Apr 25, 2012)

Education

1985 - 1989	Primary School in Ipsach BE
1989 - 1993	Lower Secondary School in Nidau BE
1993 - 1998	Academic Upper Secondary School in Biel-Bienne BE (Type D, Modern Languages)
Jun 5, 1998	A Levels/IB diploma ('Matura')
1999 - 2005	Student of general linguistics, African linguistics and social and cultural anthropology at the University of Zurich
Sep - Dec 2003	Field research for Master's Thesis in Burkina Faso
Jun 3, 2005	Master's Degree ('Lizenziat')
2005 - 2010	Doctoral student of general linguistics at the University of Zurich; several stays in Ethiopia for field research
Nov 5, 2010	Doctoral studies accomplished

Employment History

1998 - 1999	Teaching Assistant with the Grundbacher family (members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) in Central African Republic
2000 - 2001	Junior Assistant at the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich
2001 - 2005	Library Assistant and secretary at the Department of General Linguistics, University of Zurich
Oct 2001 - Jun 2002	Junior Assistant (giving tutorials) at the Department of General Linguistics, University of Zurich
Jul 2005 - Jun 2006	Administration Assistant at the Department of General Linguistics, University of Zurich
Oct 2006 - Jan 2007	Lecturer at the Department of General Linguistics, University of Zurich
Sep 2005 - Jan 2010	Research Associate in the Swiss National Science Foundation project 'Functional typology of Ethiopian Languages'
Sep 2010 - Dec 2011 and since Sep 2012	Lecturer at the Department of General Linguistics, University of Zurich